PUBLICATIONS
OF THE
NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL COMMISSION
BULLETIN No. 25

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

Papers for 1918 Annual Session Unheld

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VERA EFFIGIES CLARISSIMI VIRI DOMINI GUALTHERI RALEGH EQU. AUR. et
The true and lively portraiture
of the honourable and learned Knight
Sr. Walter Ralegh.

PORTRAIT OF RALEGH IN THE THIRD EDITION OF "THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD," 1617

The Only Portrait of Him Published During His Lifetime

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

Compiled by
R. D. W. CONNOR
Secretary

RALEIGH
EDWARDS & BROUGHTON PRINTING CO.
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1919

The North Carolina Historical Commission

J. Bryan Grimes, *Chairman*, Raleigh.

D. H. Hill, Raleigh.

T. M. Pittman, Henderson.

M. C. S. Noble, Chapel Hill.

Frank Wood, Edenton.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary*, Raleigh.

Officers of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina

1917-1918

President .....James Sprunt, Wilmington.
First Vice-President .....Miss Mary O. Graham, Raleigh.
Second Vice-President .....C. C. Pearson, Wake Forest.
Third Vice-President .....Miss Carrie Jackson, Pittsboro.
Secretary-Treasurer.....R. D. W. Connor, Raleigh.

Executive Committee

(With Above Officers)

Edwin Greenlaw, Chapel Hill. A. L. Brooks, Greensboro.
Miss Julia Alexander, Charlotte. Joseph B. Cheshire, Raleigh.
Miss Adelaide Fries, Winston-Salem.

PURPOSES OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

"The collection, preservation, production and dissemination of State literature and history;

"The encouragement of public and school libraries;

"The establishment of an historical museum;

"The inculcation of a literary spirit among our people;

"The correction of printed misrepresentations concerning North Carolina; and—

"The engendering of an intelligent, healthy State pride in the rising generations."

ELIGIBILITY TO MEMBERSHIP—MEMBERSHIP DUES

All persons interested in its purposes are invited to become members of the Association. There are two classes of members: "Regular Members," paying one dollar a year, and "Sustaining Members," paying five dollars a year.

RECORD OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

(Organized October, 1900)

Fiscal Years.	*Presidents.*	*Secretaries.*	*Paid up Membership.*
1900-1901	Walter Clark	Alex J. Feild	150
1901-1902	Henry G. Connor	Alex J. Feild	139
1902-1903	W. L. Poteat	George S. Fraps	73
1903-1904	C. Alphonso Smith	Clarence Poe	127
1904-1905	Robert W. Winston	Clarence Poe	109
1905-1906	Charles B. Aycock	Clarence Poe	185
1906-1907	W. D. Pruden	Clarence Poe	301
1907-1908	Robert Bingham	Clarence Poe	273
1908-1909	Junius Davis	Clarence Poe	311
1909-1910	Platt D. Walker	Clarence Poe	440
1910-1911	Edward K. Graham	Clarence Poe	425
1911-1912	R. D. W. Connor	Clarence Poe	479
1912-1913	W. P. Few	R. D. W. Connor	476
1913-1914	Archibald Henderson	R. D. W. Connor	435
1914-1915	Clarence Poe	R. D. W. Connor	412
1915-1916	Howard E. Rondthaler	R. D. W. Connor	501
1916-1917	H. A. London	R. D. W. Connor	521
1917-1918	James Sprunt	R. D. W. Connor	453
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THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

Conditions of Award Officially Set Forth by Mrs. Patterson.

To the President and Executive Committee of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina:

As a memorial to my father, and with a view to stimulating effort among the writers of North Carolina, and to awaken among the people of the State an interest in their own literature, I desire to present to your society a loving cup upon the following stipulations, which I trust will meet with your approval, and will be found to be just and practicable:

1. The cup will be known as the "William Houston Patterson Memorial Cup."

2. It will be awarded at each annual meeting of your association for ten successive years, beginning with October, 1905.

3. It will be given to that resident of the State who during the twelve months from September 1st of the previous year to September 1st of the year of the award has displayed, either in prose or poetry, without regard to its length, the greatest excellence and the highest literary skill and genius. The work must be published during the said twelve months, and no manuscript nor any unpublished writings will be considered.

4. The name of the successful competitor will be engraved upon the cup, with the date of award, and it will remain in his possession until October 1st of the following year, when it shall be returned to the Treasurer of the Association, to be by him held in trust until the new award of your annual meeting that month. It will become the permanent possession of the one winning it oftenest during the ten years, provided he shall have won it three times. Should no one at the expiration of that period, have won it so often, the competition shall continue until that result is reached. The names of only those competitors who shall be living at the time of the final award shall be considered in the permanent disposition of the cup.

5. The Board of Award shall consist of the President of the Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina, who will act as chairman, and of the occupants of the Chairs of English Literature at the University of North Carolina, at Davidson College, at Wake Forest College, and at the State College of Agriculture and Mechanic Arts at Raleigh, and of the Chairs of History at the University of North Carolina and at Trinity College.

6. If any of these gentlemen should decline or be unable to serve, their successors shall be appointed by the remaining members of the Board, and these appointees may act for the whole unexpired term or for shorter time, as the Board may determine. Notice of the inability of any member to act must be given at the beginning of the year during which he declines to serve, so that there may be a full committee during the entire term of each year.

7. The publication of a member of the Board will be considered and passed upon in the same manner as that of any other writer.

MRS. J. LINDSAY PATTERSON.

Supplementary Resolution

According to a resolution adopted at the 1908 session of the Literary and Historical Association, it is also provided that no author desiring to have his work considered in connection with the award of the cup shall communicate with any member of the committee, either personally or through a representative. Books or other publications to be considered, together with any communications regarding them, must be sent to the Secretary of the Association and by him presented to the chairman of the committee for consideration.

AWARDS OF THE PATTERSON MEMORIAL CUP

1905—John Charles McNeill, for poems later reprinted in book form as "Songs, Merry and Sad."
1906—Edwin Mims, for "Life of Sidney Lanier."
1907—Kemp Plummer Battle, for "History of the University of North Carolina."
1908—Samuel A'Court Ashe, for "History of North Carolina, Vol. I."
1909—Clarence Poe, for "A Southerner in Europe."
1910—R. D. W. Connor, for "Cornelius Harnett: An Essay in North Carolina History."
1911—Archibald Henderson, for "George Bernard Shaw: His Life and Works."
1912—Clarence Poe, for "Where Half the World is Waking Up."
1913—Horace Kephart, for "Our Southern Highlanders."
1914—J. G. deR. Hamilton, for "Reconstruction in North Carolina."
1915—William Louis Poteat, for "The New Peace."
1916—No Award.
1917—Mrs. Olive Tilford Dargan, for "The Cycle's Rim."
1918—No Award.

WHAT THE ASSOCIATION HAS ACCOMPLISHED FOR THE STATE—SUCCESSFUL MOVEMENTS INAUGURATED BY IT.

1. Rural libraries.
2. "North Carolina Day" in the schools.
3. The North Carolina Historical Commission.
4. Vance statute in Statuary Hall.
5. Fire-proof State Library Building and Hall of Records.
6. Civil War Battlefields marked to show North Carolina's record.
7. North Carolina's war record defended and war claims vindicated.
8. Patterson Memorial Cup.

Prefatory Note

The addresses included in this bulletin were prepared for presentation at the Nineteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina which was to have been held at Raleigh, October 28-29, 1918; but as the date for the session approached the epidemic of influenza which was raging throughout the State and Nation seemed to make it unwise to hold it. Since the addresses had been prepared for a special occasion, it has seemed appropriate to the Association to publish them in this form for permanent preservation.

R. D. W. Connor, *Secretary.*

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE STATE LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF NORTH CAROLINA

Introductory Remarks Prepared by the President

The Nineteenth Annual Session of the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina is now convened.[1] Before the Invocation of Divine Guidance, it seems to me to be proper to say a few words. Bishop Anderson has said: "In the great crisis through which this country has been going for some past years the thing that decided the issue was simply the question of right or wrong in the minds of the people." Said he, "I believe I have opportunities for feeling the public pulse. I do not think the people generally have asked many questions about international law as between us and our enemy. They have not been much concerned about European boundaries. I do not believe that our people think that this is a commercial war. No, it seems to me that the great masses of our people have been asking old-fashioned questions about right and wrong. Is it right or is it wrong to keep our word, to observe our treaties, to murder and slaughter innocent women and children, to order the devastation of cities and churches and libraries, to try to bring about a holy war between Mohammedans and Christians? Is it right or is it wrong to instigate all kinds of intrigue and espionage and lying amongst people, to teach a doctrine of the state which relieves the individual of all his moral obligations and which instigates barbarous immoralities? The bulk of our people are facing the issues of the day on a straight moral question: are things right or wrong? And the great heart of America is rising every day higher and higher in a moral passion. It says these things are wrong and they can't endure in the world."

Every human experience has a counterpart in Holy Scripture. The experiences through which our nation has been passing are strikingly illustrated by the experience of the Hebrews in the days of King Hezekiah. The neighboring nations had been overwhelmed and carried away captive by Sennacherib, King of Assyria, who was striving for world dominion with all the brute force and ruthlessness at his command. In the course of time this haughty King made demands upon Hezekiah and his people to which they yielded until the insults were galling beyond endurance and then they began to resist. The Assyrian army swept forward. One city in Judah after another was captured and destroyed. Jerusalem was besieged by a mighty army. Sennacherib's agents began a propaganda among the Hebrew people and soldiers, to undermine their morale and their faith. "Let not Hezekiah deceive you," they

[1]The session of course was not held.

cried, "for he shall not be able to deliver you. Beware lest Hezekiah persuade you saying, Jehovah will deliver us. Hath any of the gods of the nations delivered his land out of the hand of the King of Assyria? Where are the gods of Hamath and Arphad? And have they delivered Samaria out of my hand? Behold, thou hast learned what the Kings of Assyria have done to all lands by destroying them utterly: and shalt thou be delivered?"

Frightfulness and boastfulness were the weapons of the ancient Assyrian heathen as well as of the modern German heathen. Hezekiah met the taunts, the threats, and the menaces of the King of Assyria on his knees before the King of Kings. He confessed the greatness and the power of Jehovah above all gods and he said to his people: "Be strong and courageous, be not afraid nor dismayed for the King of Assyria, nor for all the multitude that is with him: for there be more with us than with him; with him is an arm of flesh; but with us is the Jehovah our God to help us fight our battles."

Hezekiah's faith in God was richly rewarded. By a terrible interposition of Providence, 185,000 Assyrian soldiers were stricken dead before the gates of Jerusalem, and Sennacherib and the remnant of his army fled back "with shame of face to their own land."

Acknowledgment of the Lord of Hosts and reliance upon His might have turned the tide of many a battle since the days of Hezekiah. You will recall how Philip of Spain, the most cruel and the most mighty monarch of his time, tried to crush out civil and religious liberty in the little land of Holland. His armies laid siege to Leyden and it seemed as if all hope were gone, but those sturdy Hollanders were looking to God and by a most timely Providential interference they were delivered. That same Philip assembled what was known as his Invincible Armada for the crushing of civil and religious liberty in England. And as far as human eye could see his Armada *was* invincible and it looked as if England was doomed. But as John Richard Green well says, the England of that day was a land of one book, and that book was the Bible, and their faith was in the God of the Bible. By a mighty intervention of wind and wave, God destroyed the Invincible Armada and delivered England.

You will also recall, in the history of our own State, how Cornwallis was pursuing General Greene and was about to capture or destroy his little army and how Greene and his army were saved by the great storm which turned the Catawba River into an impassable flood, and you will recall how the very same thing happened again at the Yadkin River. With this army reinforced, Greene fought the battle of Guilford Court House which was the turning point in the American Revolution.

The Bible and history are full of these divine interferences and they encourage us to turn our hearts today, with faith and confidence to the God of hosts as we battle for liberty and justice and righteousness in the earth.

George Davis[1]

By James Sprunt
President of the State Literary and Historical Association

Francis Hall said:

"Life has been called a pilgrimage. It is one in many respects, and the simile is never more applicable than when we make, at certain intervals, a halt in the onward march of our ideas, to revert to the contemplation of times gone by, and endeavor again to bring out the lineaments of events and objects, which, like the rich and delicate-carved work of some ancient cathedral, we perceive to be growing daily more indistinct, and in danger of being finally blended into a mass of things, but nothing certain."

I have also thought of Doctor Trudeau's words:

"As a man nears the end of the earthly journey, and the evening comes and the shadows lengthen, and the work is done, when there is no longer any future to look forward to in this world, and much of the joy of life has disappeared from the present, he naturally turns his face not unwillingly to the past, and is not at all averse to living over again for others some of the days of sunshine and shadows, of pleasure and pain, and of strenuous activity through which he has passed."

And so from the treasure house of abiding memories, the playground of old age, I have drawn pen sketches of some Cape Fear men in varied walks of life whose names should live among the immortals of the Old North State.

At the intersection of two prominent streets in the City of Wilmington in full view of our majestic river, there stands a heroic portrait statue in bronze; its face towards the Cape Fear; the right hand extended with a characteristic gesture, the left hand rests lightly upon the furled banner of the Lost Cause. It is the effigy of George Davis, whose wisdom illustrated the principles of law and equity, whose eloquence commanded the admiration of his peers, who was beloved for his stainless integrity, and who, shining in the pure excellence of virtue and refinement, exemplified with dignity and simplicity, with gentle courtesy and Christian faith, the true heart of chivalry in Southern manhood.

In early youth I attended an excellent Wilmington Academy known as Jewett's School, in which, one day of the week was devoted to exercises of declamation.

The Wilmington legal bar at that time included such distinguished men as the Wrights, Hills, Meares, Holmes, Empie, London, Hall,

[1]Prepared for the President's Annual Address.

Cutlar, Waddell, Poisson, Strange, Person, George Davis, in which Mr. Davis was *facile princeps*. His masterful eulogy of Henry Clay and other notable orations, had already established his reputation as the most eloquent public speaker of the lower Cape Fear. Our preceptor encouraged his pupils to attend out of school hours the sittings of our Superior Court of Law when an important civil or criminal case was likely to engage an array of talented contestants; but when it was whispered that Mr. Davis, as he was always called, would speak, our boys, many of whom were the sons of prominent lawyers, assembled with one accord in the Court Room, to study his style and vocabulary and if possible to imitate this acknowledged leader in public debate and pleadings. So I may say that almost from my childhood I had been taught to reverence Mr. Davis and to link his personality with things that are true and honest and just and pure and lovely and of good report. Mr. Davis never appeared in a cause without careful and thorough preparation. He was not a genius. All his achievements as an orator, a counsellor, and pleader, were the result of studious application and untiring industry, and we were taught that talent differs from genius, as voluntary power differs from involuntary power. Mr. Davis illustrated the sacred parable of the man to whom ten talents were given and who brought to his lord ten talents more. I often walked behind him on his way from his office to his residence and watched with respectful and absorbing interest his gesticulations on the street, while he rehearsed his speech for the following day. Seneca said that it was the nature of a great mind to be calm and undisturbed, and Cicero said that it was the part of a great mind to force itself away from the emotions, and the reasoning faculty out of the rut of custom. There was a dignity and repose in Mr. Davis' nature which repelled familiarity and in his greatest orations he held the emotions in control.

He shone as a great light in Cape Fear history, and, although the orb of his day has descended in the West, its reflected radiance still gilds and glorifies the scenes he described so eloquently in words which cannot die. A few years before the death of Mrs. Jefferson Davis it was my high privilege to entertain frequently at my summer home at Narragansett Pier that accomplished lady, and to enjoy the recital of her charming reminiscences of scholars and statesmen eminent in the public life of Washington and of Richmond in her day and generation; among whom she frequently mentioned Mr. J. P. Benjamin and Mr. George Davis.

When I informed her by letter of the death of our Mr. Davis, she replied in terms of deep emotion and affectionate regard:

"I am able to sit up a little, and regret that I am not strong enough to say as much about dear Mr. George Davis as my heart dictates.

"He was one of the most exquisitely proportioned of men. His mind dominated his body, but his heart drew him near to all that was honorable and tender, as well as patriotic and faithful, in mankind. He was never dismayed by defeat, but never protested. When the enemy was at the gates of Richmond he was fully sensible of our peril, but calm in the hope of repelling them, and if this failed, certain of his power and will to endure whatever ills had been reserved for him.

"His literary tastes were diverse and catholic, and his anxious mind found relaxation in studying the literary confidences of others in a greater degree than I have ever known in any other public man except Mr. Benjamin.

"My husband felt for him the most sincere friendship, as well as confidence and esteem, and I think there was never the slightest shadow intervened between them.

"I mourn with you over our loss, which none who knew him can doubt was his gain."

Of him our distinguished scholar and writer, Prof. Henry E. Shepherd, said to me:

"Mr. George Davis's name was as a household word on the Cape Fear in my circle. He was a masterful illustration of all the forces, social, moral, intellectual, that portray the civic virtues, and make for the higher and nobler types of righteousness." And in a review of the great men of North Carolina of the Revolutionary period, and of later epochs up to the war between the States, and since its termination, "a galaxy of moral excellence, the most perfect, of intellectual ability, the most eminent, of fidelity, the most unwavering."

Cicero Harriss said:

"I consider one illustrious man with an approach to care and with a desire to do all justice with whom I put him in comparison. That man is the peerless orator of the Cape Fear, the lawyer and statesman, the almost incomparable citizen, beloved and venerated by his friends and neighbors and highly respected by all with whom he came in contact. I entirely agree with the estimate of the personal character, the varied ability and the public services of the late George Davis as expressed in chaste, unaffected language, but with discriminating care by his kinsman and former fellow citizen, Samuel A. Ashe. Rightly to appreciate the great Wilmingtonian one has to know him as he was at home and performed his labors, public and private, among the people whom he loved best on earth and who knew best his own transcendent worth and glorious talents. It was said with truth several times that Mr. Davis did his very greatest work there in the presence and hearing of his own people, that his finest law arguments, most symmetrical orations on historical and literary subjects, were delivered in the old opera house to a Cape Fear audience. I think this must have been true, and yet that elegant Chapel Hill address was worthy of a great orator. It is not for this writer to try to be ornate and critical on such a subject, even if he

could be on any topic. Mr. Davis so commanded the veneration and the deep outward respect of his true friends that they prefer to speak of him with unaffected simplicity. So simple and yet majestic was his own life that ornamentation in describing his attributes would be out of place. There never was a better illustration of the simple life ever lived by man of great intellect and deep emotions. He seemed always under control. Even the occasional bursts of imagination in his speeches were pruned of luxuriance. There was all through his public addresses a rigid classicism, which, however, was not chilling, but had a polished surface of geniality. Never gushing, he never repelled. You watched for the noble passages, but he indulged in unusual feeling sparingly. Hence his power. It was the power of a truly great imaginative mind. Behind it all, you felt, was the genuine heart of the orator. I recollect that the whole packed audience one night was moved to mighty enthusiasm when he apostrophised the Cape of Fear in a short concluding paragraph of what had been one of his greatest orations."

It was my rare fortune to stand in intimate relation to Mr. Davis in his later years. From my youth up, I had regarded him with ardent personal devotion. In private conversation in his home circle with his charming family, in every walk of his honored life, he was to me the highest type of a Christian statesman, philosopher and friend, and it was because of this relation that upon his greatly lamented death, 23rd of February 1896, I was entrusted by the Chamber of Commerce with the preparation of a sketch of his life and service. We approached the task to which we were assigned with a profound sense of our inadequacy to offer anything worthy of that noble life, but with an earnest desire to add to all the true and beautiful things that had been said of him, some memorial that would more fully set forth the labors and achievements of the foremost citizen of our Cape Fear section. To do this we thought nothing could be more appropriate than a free use of his own writings and the testimony of his contemporaries at the various periods of his life. What he said, what he wrote, and what he did, obtaining thus a clearer conception and reminder of his high morality, his great ability and his rare eloquence. We were also moved to this course by the hope that it might inspire the rising generation with a desire to study his career, and in a grateful people the resolve to rescue from oblivion his scattered compositions.

This hurried tribute in the Chamber of Commerce comprised in part extracts from his great eulogy on Henry Clay, his famous address at the State University of 1855, "The Men of the Cape Fear in the Olden Times," inspiring many of his hearers to study this important patriotic subject which had been long dormant in the mind of our cultivated people. His great address in 1856 before the Literary Societies of the Greensborough Female College, "A Rich and Well Stored Mind," his

"Peace Congress" speech on the 2nd of March, 1861, his great Tilden and Vance campaign speech, 3rd of November, 1876, of which the gifted Doctor Kingsbury said:

"The speech to which we listened is a very memorable one. It will long abide with us as one of those felicitous, rounded, finished efforts of a highly endowed and noble intellect that will be a memory and a joy forever.

"As a composition the effort of Mr. Davis was very admirable. There was humor, there was sarcasm, there was an exquisite irony, there were flashes of wit, and there was an outburst of corrosive scorn and indignation, that were wonderfully artistic and effective. At times a felicity of illustration would arrest your attention and a grand outburst of high and ennobling eloquence would thrill you with the most pleasurable emotions. The taste was exceedingly fine, and, from beginning to end, the workings of a highly cultured, refined, graceful and elegant mind were manifest. There were passages delivered with high dramatic art that would have electrified any audience on earth. If that speech had been delivered before an Athenian audience in the days of Pericles, or in Rome when Cicero thundered forth his burning and sonorous eloquence, or in Westminster Hall, with Burke, and Fox, and Sheridan among the auditors, he would have received their loudest acclaims, and his fame would have gone down the ages as one of those rarely gifted men who knew well how to use his native speech and to play with the touch of a master on that grand instrument, the human heart.

"We would refer at length, if opportunity allowed, to the scheme of his argument, to his magnificent peroration, in which passion and imagination swept the audience and led them captive at the will of the magician; to the exquisitely opposite illustrations, now quaint and humorous and then delicate and pathetic, drawn with admirable art from history and peotry and the sacred Truth—to these and other points we might refer.

"How can words, empty words, reproduce the glowing eloquence and entrancing power of the human voice, when that voice is one while soft as Apollo's lute, or resonant as the blast of a bugle under the influence of deep passion? How can human language bring back a forgotten strain or convey an exact impression made by the tongue of fire when burdened with a majestic eloquence?"

His last public address was a matchless memorial of his beloved Chief, Jefferson Davis, at the Opera House in 1889, on which occasion he spoke without notes, nor was there a stenographer present, but I had the honor of preserving that memorable tribute and of putting it in print as the last public utterance of this beloved leader of the Cape Fear. It is as follows:

"The last appearance of Mr. Davis before a general audience was at the mass-meeting in the Opera House, in 1889, to do honor to the memory of ex-President Davis. He was already in feeble health, and unequal to an oration, but the tenderness and sweetness of his personal reminiscences, as he presented the side of his friend's character that was least known to the world, will abide in the memory of those who heard him, like the lingering

fragrance of flowers that have faded and passed away. In the concluding passage, in which he spoke of the President's religious faith, he unconsciously reflected his own simple and abiding trust in God; and we can find no words which more fittingly describe the Christian life of our Mr. Davis, than those that he uttered of his dead chieftain:

"'He was a high-souled, true-hearted Christian gentleman, and if our poor humanity has any higher form than that, I know not what it is. His great and active intellect never exercised itself with questioning the being of God, or the truth of His revelations to man. He never thought it wise or smart to scoff at mysteries which he could not understand. He never was daring enough to measure infinite power and goodness by the poor, narrow guage of a limited, crippled human intellect. Where he understood, he admired, worshipped, adored. Where he could not understand, he rested unquestioningly upon a faith that was as the faith of a little child—a faith that never wavered, and that made him look always undoubtingly, fearlessly, through life, through death, to life again.'"

In that address also occurs the following passage, which is worthy of all preservation as the declaration of one of commanding intellect and wide experience, after he had reached the limit of three-score years and ten, as to what attribute he considered of the highest value in human character:

"My public life was long since over; my ambition went down with the banner of the South, and, like it, never rose again. I have had abundant time in all these quiet years, and it has been my favorite occupation, to review the occurrences of that time, and recall over the history of that tremendous struggle; to remember with love and admiration the great men who bore their parts in its events.

"I have often thought what was it that the Southern people had to be most proud of in all the proud things of their record? Not the achievement of our arms! No man is more proud of them than I, no man rejoices more in Manassas, Chancellorsville and in Richmond; but all nations have had their victories. There is something, I think, better than that, and it was this, that through all the bitterness of that time, and throughout all the heat of that fierce contest, Jefferson Davis and Robert E. Lee never spoke a word, never wrote a line that the whole neutral world did not accept as the very indisputable truth. Aye, truth was the guiding star of both of them, and that is a grand thing to remember; upon that my memory rests more proudly than upon anything else. It is a monument better than marble, more durable than brass. Teach it to your children, that they may be proud to remember Jefferson Davis."

There were also in my collection many notes of legal arguments, personal reminiscences, interviews and private utterances.

With the preparation of this memorial, I was inspired with the ambition to collect from many sources an epitome of his incomparable compositions, addresses, political speeches, arguments at the bar, in the home circle, in the local associations in which his primacy is universally conceded, and in his development as is revealed in the broadening ranges of his professional and political career, when he was the

colleague of Judah P. Benjamin, the trusted counsellor of Jefferson Davis, shaping some august decree and guiding the destiny of the newborn Confederacy, and to write a biography more worthy of such an honored theme.

"We see ourselves his cherished guests,
His partners in the flowery walk of letters, genial table talk,
of deep disputes and graceful jests;
While now his properous labor fills the lips of men with honest
praise and sun by sun, the happy days
Descend below the golden hills."

In pursuance of this purpose, for several years after his death I gathered, sometimes day by day, the desired material for this labor of love in many manuscripts and memoranda, which I carefully secreted in a private desk, which would be safe from intrusion. Vain hope! During my temporary absence from home, a new Scotch domestic, eager to prove her efficiency, invaded this sanctum sanctorum, emptied the drawers of their precious contents into the furnace fire and utterly destroyed these priceless papers, and my ambition to be another minor Boswell. But I doubt not there will arise from this membership a capable biographer, with every characteristic requisite; knowledge, sympathy, sweetness and light, the elements that mark as well as form the philosophic mind. Would that his gifted and beloved kinsman, Samuel A'Court Ashe, who in his masterful presentation of Mr. Davis' portrait to the Supreme Court of North Carolina, October 19th, 1915, paid tribute to his great exemplar, or his devoted personal friend, Eugene S. Martin, who as dean of the Wilmington Bar was requested by the North Carolina Bar Association to review the life and service of their distinguished and lamented brother, which he did in a eulogy of great power and beauty before the Association in Asheville in August, 1915; or his chief biographer, Judge H. G. Connor, who presented to the City of Wilmington in an eloquent oration the bronze effigy in memory of our great leader of the Cape Fear on the 20th, of April, 1911; or our accomplished scholar and historian, J. G. deR. Hamilton, might add to their perennial laurels a more extended life of him "whom history shall cherish among those choicer spirits, who, holding their conscience unmixed with blame, have been in all conjunctures true to themselves, their Country and their God."

THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA, 1588
Sir Francis Drake in *The Revenge* taking De Valdez's Galleon (at the left)
From "The Tapestry Hangings of the House of Lords," engraved by J. Pine, 1739
"The Defeat of the Invincible Armada Was the Opening Event in the [illegible] of the United States."—[illegible] in "Old Virginia and Her Neighbours."

Anglo-American Relations

IN

Commemoration

OF THE

Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Explanatory Note

The death of Sir Walter Raleigh on October 29, 1618, ended the life of the most notable figure in the history of Anglo-American colonization—a figure of the first rank in the history both of Great Britain and of the United States. The three hundredth anniversary of his death found these two nations in close alliance in defence of those ideals of English liberty which Raleigh, more than any other man, was instrumental in planting in America and in defence of which he suffered martyrdom. It seemed, therefore, to a group of distinguished British statesmen and scholars appropriate that the two great English-speaking peoples of the world should take some note of the Tercentenary of his death by commemorating in some suitable manner his life and services and his contributions to our civilization. Accordingly under the leadership of Dr. Israel Gollancz, Secretary of the British Academy, a Raleigh Tercentenary Committee was organized in London, with Viscount Bryce as Honorary Chairman, and under the auspices of this committee appropriate exercises were held in London.

In the spring of 1918, Dr. Gollancz consulted Dr. Walter Hines Page, American Ambassador at the Court of St. James, as to the most suitable means of having a corresponding commemoration in the United States. Dr. Page, accordingly, suggested the State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina as the logical organization to undertake the task in the United States and brought the matter to the attention of the secretary of the Association in a letter in which he wrote:

> Next October will be the centenary of Sir Walter Raleigh. It has been proposed by certain learned men here that some sort of celebration be made of the fact and they have asked me what corresponding celebration, or co-operation, or contribution to such a celebration I thought could be hoped for from the United States. It at once came to my mind to write to you. I do not know anybody who has a keener interest in Sir Walter Raleigh than your Society, nor anybody who could with greater propriety take up this interesting task.
>
> No particular program has yet been made but they would welcome any suggestions that you might make. Let me say off-hand that you might organize a celebration in North Carolina having appropriate addresses and any other proceedings that occur to you, and the English might have a corresponding thing here on the same day and letters could be written by your group of people to them, and by them to you, to be read at each celebration and perhaps telegrams exchanged also.

The suggestion seemed so appropriate that Dr. James Sprunt, President of the Association, and the Executive Committee, determined to

turn the 1918 session into a "Conference on Anglo-American Relations in Commemoration of the Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh"; and a program was accordingly prepared.

A committee of the Association, appointed to draft an address of greetings to the Raleigh Tercentenary Committee, prepared and sent the following address:

TO THE SIR WALTER RALEIGH TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE:—

Greetings and hearty acclaim! The State Literary and Historical Association of North Carolina hails with undisguised pleasure the new era upon which we have entered. The study of English history by Americans and the study of American history by Englishmen are no longer to be pursued as a means of finding and accentuating differences, but as an opportunity of bringing into clearer relief those common traditions and common ideals which alone form the basis of an indissoluble union. Sir Walter Raleigh has been to our country chiefly a link with a romantic but remote past. In the days that are before us he will still remind us of an historic past, but he will bind us not less to England that was, but more to England that is.

North Carolinians have never ceased to remember with pride that to Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Humphrey Gilbert history owes the first thought of a new England on American soil, and that the colony planted by Raleigh on Roanoke Island was the first colony of Englishmen to be settled in the new world. Though the settlement failed, as men count failure, its undaunted founder lived to see Roanoke become a stepping-stone to Jamestown and thus to know that through his initiative the language and institutions of England had found rootage in a new continent.

To the boys and girls of North Carolina every incident in the great sailor's attempt, unsuccessful though it was, to found a permanent English colony on North Carolina soil has in it the blended challenge of old world and new world romance. Amadas and Barlowe, Manteo and Wanchese, Governor Lane and John White, Virgina Dare and the White Fawn, the fateful word C r o a t a n, these names and the stories that enshrine them are a part of the fireside lore of the State whose capital is Raleigh. On the monument to Virginia Dare erected on Roanoke Island, in Dare County, under the auspices of the State Literary and Historical Association, one may read the following inscription:

> On this site in July-August 1585 (O.S.) Colonists sent out from England by Sir Walter Raleigh, built a Fort, called by them the New Fort in Virginia. These Colonists were the first settlers of the English race in America. They returned to England in July, 1586, with Sir Francis Drake. Near this place was born on the 18th of August, 1587, "Virginia Dare" the first child of English speaking parents, born in America, of Ananias Dare and Eleanor White, his wife, members of another band of Colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587. On Sunday, August 20, 1587, "Virginia Dare" was baptized. Manteo, the friendly Chief of Hatteras Indians, had been baptized on the Sunday preceding. These baptisms are the first known celebrations of Christian Sacrament in the territory of the Thirteen Original United States.

But in the light of events now happening memorials like these assume a new significance. They remind us not only of a common origin, but of a common destiny; they point forward as well as backward; they speak not of a tale that was old, but of a tale yet to be told. The mighty events that are today remaking the history of the world have to their credit no finer achievement than the instinctive rallying of England's far-flung colonies to the defense of the island mother. Side by side with these colonies, harkening to the same memories, inspired by the same faith, sustained by the same vision, America has taken her stand. England was yesterday the land of our fathers; she is today the land of our brothers.

The State Literary and Historical Association will devote its approaching session to the Commemoration of the Tercentenary of Sir Walter Raleigh but, as typifying the new movement, the meeting will be a Conference on Anglo-American Relations. The spirit of that meeting and the spirit in which we shall continue to honor the memory of Sir Walter Raleigh finds its truest expression in the lines of one of your own poets:

> We severed have been too long,
> But now we are done with a worn-out tale—
> The tale of an ancient wrong—
> And our friendship shall last long as love doth last
> And be stronger than death is strong.

JAMES SPRUNT.
C. ALPHONSO SMITH.
JOS. BLOUNT CHESHIRE.
GEORGE ROUNTREE.

The following messages were exchanged by cable:

LONDON, October 28, 1918.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
Raleigh, N. C.

Proud of our common heritage in Raleigh, we send paternal greetings.

RALEIGH TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE.

RALEIGH, N. C., October 29, 1918.

RALEIGH TERCENTENARY COMMITTEE,
London, England.

GREETINGS:—May Raleigh's memory be a perpetual bond between America and her glorious Mother Country.

NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

EXETER, October 28, 1918.

STATE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION,
Raleigh, N. C.

Devonshire sends greetings on occasion of Raleigh Tercentenary.

EARL FORTESCUE, *Lord Lieutenant.*

RALEIGH, N. C., October 29, 1918.

EARL FORTESCUE,

Exeter, England.

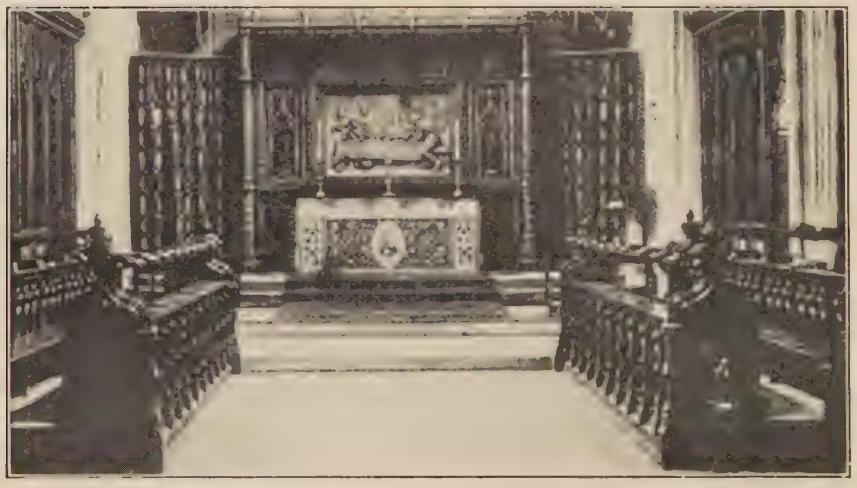
North Carolina, the scene of Raleigh's colonies, greets his native Devonshire. May his memory be a bond of union between America and her Mother Country. NORTH CAROLINA LITERARY AND HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.

For the reason already stated the Conference was not held, but that the benefits which were expected to result from it might not be wholly lost, the authorities of the Association determined to publish the papers which were to have been read at the session. To the writers who very kindly consented to this disposition of their addresses, the Association returns its sincere thanks. The Association also acknowledges with appreciation the kindness of Prof. W. F. C. Hersey in permitting the use of the photographs which illustrate this volume.

R. D. W. CONNOR,
Secretary.

A CELL IN THE BLOODY TOWER WHERE RALEGH WAS CONFINED THIRTEEN YEARS

From a drawing by J. Wykeham Archer, 1851



SITE OF BURIAL PLACE OF SIR WALTER RALEGH

South side of Altar, St. Margaret's Church, Westminster

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS

Introductory

By James Sprunt
President of The State Literary and Historical Association

It has been truly said that among the great gifts that God has given to men is the gift of men; and it has also been said that it sometimes falls to the lot of an inexperienced chairman to have to introduce distinguished speakers of wide reputation. If his modesty is in keeping, as it should be, with his lack of experience, he will share with his audience a vivid sense of his own superfluousness. Such an embarrassment is mine, because I have been invited to introduce to you during this session men eminent in their respective spheres of usefulness, who will speak to you on this occasion of the Tercentenary Commemoration of one whose honored name is perpetuated by that of our Capital City, "who was wholly gentleman, wholly soldier, who," said Mr. Davis, "falling under the displeasure of a scoundrel king, and languishing for twelve long years under sentence of ignominious death, sent forth through his prison bars such melodious notes that the very king's son cried out, 'No monarch in Christendom but my father, would keep such a bird in a cage'; who, inexhaustible in ideas and in exploits, after having brought a new world to light, wrote the history of the old in a prison, and then died because God had made him too great for his fellows—that name, which to North Carolina ears rings down through the ages like a glorious chime of bells—the name of our great Sir Walter Raleigh."

Ralegh[1] and British Imperialism

By Edwin Greenlaw,
Kenan Professor of English in the University of North Carolina

Ralegh is thought of as an adventurer and colonizer who typifies the romance and daring of the Elizabethan age. This view is correct enough, but it is incomplete. The picturesque aspects of Ralegh's life half conceal its real meaning.

In one of the most charming of his poems, *Colin Clout's Come Home Again,* Edmund Spenser tells how he was induced by a friend whom he met in his Irish exile to go with him to meet Cynthia, the great Queen. Under the fanciful disguise of the pastoral conventions we see how fully the poet entered into sympathy with the ambitions of the man to whom he gave the happy title of the Shepherd of the Ocean. It was in the late 80's; Spenser had been in Ireland almost ten years, an exile because of his imprudence in defense of Leicester's opposition to the Queen's marriage. He had himself had visions of usefulness in matters of state, had desired to live the adventurous life of Sidney or Ralegh, but his adventures were those of the imagination, woven into the vision of the Faerie Queen. Three books of the great poem had been completed when Ralegh, fresh from his Virginia enterprise and one of the heroes of the defeat of the Spanish Armada, the very personification of the virtues that Spenser sought to embody in his epic, settled for a brief time on a neighboring estate. Ralegh himself was engaged on an ambitious poem, of which only a fragment remains under the title of "The Twenty-First and Last Book of the Ocean, to Cynthia." The friends talked over their poems and their ambitions, and at Ralegh's suggestion Spenser accompanied him to London to lay the first books of his fairy epic at the feet of the Queen. It was a little later, when Spenser had returned alone to Ireland and Ralegh was vainly trying to get a chance to carry on active war against the Spanish sea power, that the account was written of what had passed between them in their talks on the long summer days in 1589. Spenser tells how

[1]Stebbing records 74 different forms known to have been used in spelling Sir Walter Raleigh's name. "The spelling of his name for the first thirty-two years of his life was as vague and unsettled as his acts. . . . Ralegh himself had not kept the same spelling throughout his life. Down to 1583 his more usual signature had been the phonetic Rauley. But in 1578 he signed as Rawleyghe a deed which his father signed as Ralegh, and his brother Carew as Rawlygh. A letter of March 17, 1583, is the first he is known to have signed as Ralegh; and in the following April and May he reverted to the signature Rauley. From June 9, 1584, he used till his death no other signature than Ralegh. It appears in his books when the name is mentioned. It is used in a pedigree drawn up for him in 1601. Of the hundred and sixty-nine letters collected by Mr. Edward Edwards, a hundred and thirty-five are thus signed. Six signed Rauley, one Raleghe, and one Rauleigh, belong to an earlier date. The rest are either unsigned or initialled. The reason of his adoption of the spelling Ralegh from 1584, unless that it was his dead father's, is unknown. Of the fact there is no doubt. The spelling Raleigh, which posterity has preferred, happens to be one he is not known to have ever employed."—Stebbing: *Sir Walter Ralegh,* pp. 30-31. —R. D. W. Connor.

FACSIMILE OF AUTOGRAPH IN LETTER TO MR. R. DUKE, DESIRING TO PURCHASE HAYES BARTON, July 26, 1584

they came to the sea and passed its terrors, and how his friend explained that its high surges were the hills that belonged to Cynthia,

> For land and sea my Cynthia does deserve
> To have in her commandëment at hand.

In this realm the Shepherd of the Ocean found his life work,—

> And I among the rest, of many least
> Have in the Ocean charge to me assigned;
> Where I will live or die at her beheast.
> And serve and honour her with faithful mind.

And in the fragment of the book of Cynthia, written probably in 1593, after he had seen Sir Richard Grenville given the place he had coveted for himself, a command in the fleet that was to attack Spain once more in the Azores, and after he had been called back by the Queen from the expedition that he had planned for an attack on Panama, Ralegh wrote, loyal though disappointed,—

> To seek new worlds for gold, for praise, for glory,
> To try desire, to try love severed far,
> When I was gone, she sent her memory,
> More strong than were ten thousand ships of war;
>
> To call me back, to leave great honour's thought,
> To leave my friends, my fortune, my attempt;
> To leave the purpose I so long had sought,
> And leave both cares and comforts in contempt.

This sense of a destiny connected with the sea is apparent, therefore, in Spenser's account of the Shepherd of the Ocean and in Ralegh's own writings. But the key to the understanding of this destiny we find only by taking into account Ralegh's later writings. The governing principle of his life was his belief that England must master Spain and that this mastery was to be won only through mastery of the sea. His attempt to colonize Virginia is the first illustration of the working out of this theory; England was to establish a colonial empire that was to rival that of Spain. Ralegh's participation in the active warfare between Spain and England in 1588 and the years following, was the next step. After 1595 his interest was divided between the ambition to drive Spain out of South America and the ambition to bring about the building of a great navy and a great merchant marine. When he was free, he acted; when he was held in leash by the crochets of the Queen and when later he was spending his best years in prison, he wrote vigorously and well in defence of his ideas. The treatment he received from Elizabeth was similar to that which Sidney had received; his efforts were fruitless because of her vacillation and her distrust of the whole progressive and imperialist school to which he belonged. The

treatment he received from James was what might be expected from the narrow-minded and provincial pedant king; at last he was treacherously sacrificed to satisfy the demands of the powerful enemy that he had fought with sword and pen and personal influence throughout his life.

I

Ralegh's attitude toward Spain is set forth in many places. His contempt for Spanish boasts concerning the invincible Armada and his conviction of the superior seamanship of the English are illustrated in the opening paragraphs of his account of the *Revenge*. He had been one of the members of the War Council appointed to make preparations against the threatened invasion,[1] was a careful student of the strategy by which the English fleet won the victory, and was a staunch defender of the thesis that England's safety depended on the maintenance of a powerful navy. In his tract opposing the projected marriage of Prince Henry to a princess of Savoy he pointed out that if Elizabeth had listened to her men of war she would have proceeded with the war after 1588 until Spain had been utterly destroyed.[2] In the same tract he argued for an alliance between England and France as a means for curbing Spain.[3] Another tract advises alliance with the Netherlands, because of their great increase in sea power, in order to remove the renewed danger from Spain.[4] Similar tracts are found among the voluminous works he wrote in captivity, such as "A Discourse How War May Be Made Against Spain and the Indies."[5] In addition to alliances with France and the Netherlands, he held it necessary to build a fleet powerful enough to conquer the Spanish colonies in the new world. In "A Discourse Touching a War with Spain," he says:

> But if now the king of Spain can obtain peace upon any condition reasonable, so as he may fortify his weakness, both in Europe and the Indies, and gather again sufficient riches, putting the English from the exercise of war in those parts, and make us to forget his Indies, till those be consumed that know them, he will soon grow to his former greatness and pride; and then, if your majesty shall leave the Low Countries, and he find us by ourselves, it will not be long ere he remembers his old practices and attempts.[6]

The importance of the whole question in relation to the future of England he compresses into a single sentence: "The dispute is no less than of the government of the whole world."[7]

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[1] *Life*, Oldys, Oxford Edition, p. 92.
[2] *Works*, Oxford Edition, VIII, 246.
[3] *Works*, VIII, 251-252.
[4] *Works*, VIII, 299 pp.
[5] *Works*, VIII, 308.
[6] *Works*, VIII, 309.
[7] *Works*, VIII, 316.

This position Ralegh developed in a series of tracts remarkable for their clear vision, the fullness of information which they display, and the constancy with which he held to a definite thesis. The various tracts dwell on three closely related points: the necessity for England to seize and maintain the control of the seas; the means by which this control is to be secured, through naval strategy, through a great merchant marine, and through alliance with other sea powers against Spain; and, finally, a colonial empire in America. Ralegh's perception of these problems and the persistence with which he set forth his views in the face of opposition so bitter as to make all his efforts nugatory and eventually to bring him to ruin, prove him to have been a man far in advance of his time.

On the first point, the duty of England to become a great sea power, the material in Ralegh's writings is so great that anything like a full presentation of it is impossible within the limits of a brief article. It is his constant theme. He saw in Spain an enemy not only to the religious faith of England but also to that which England must have if she were to be anything but a dependent island kingdom. Spanish boastfulness; the treachery of Spanish propaganda, even among officers and men on English ships of war; Spanish hypocrisy, which covered all that they plotted with the "vayle of pietie"; and Spanish ambition to rule the world, a tyranny directed especially against the freedom of England,—all find expression. The case against the gigantic menace of Spain was never better put than by Ralegh, at the end of his account of the fight of the *Revenge:*

But sure I am that there is no kingdom or commonwealth in all Europe but if it bee reformed, they then invade it for religion sake; if it be as they terme Catholike, they pretende title, as if the Kinges of Castile were the naturall heires of all the worlde: and so betweene both, no kingdom is unsought. Where they dare not with their owne forces to invade, they basely entertaine the traitors and vacabondes of all nations; seeking by those and by their runnagate Jesuits to win partes, and have by that meane ruined many noble houses and others in this land, and have extinguished both their lives and families. What good, honour, or fortune ever man yet by them achieved, is yet unheard of, or unwritten. And if our English Papistes do but looke into Portugall, against whom they have no pretence of religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a pray, and all sorts of people captived, they shall find that the obedience even of the Turke is easie and a libertie, in respect of the slaverie and tyrannie of Spaine. What they have done in Sicill, in Naples, Millayne, and in the low countries; who hath there beene spared for religion at all? And it commeth to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Antwerpe, whose house being entered by a companie of Spanish souldiers, when they first sacked the Citie, hee besought them to spare him and his goodes, being a good Catholike, and

one of their own partie and faction. The Spaniardes answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for him selfe, but his money, plate, jewels, and goodes were all hereticall, and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish Flemming, who hoped that an *Agnus Dei* had beene a sufficient Target against all force of that holie and charitable nation. Neither have they at any time as they protest invaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and els where, but onely led thereunto, rather, to reduce the people to Christianitie, then for either golde or emperie. When as in one onely Iland called Hispaniola, they have wasted thirtie hundred thousand of the naturall people, besides manie millions els in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmeless people created of God, and might have beene won to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as manie as ever were perswaded thereunto. The Storie whereof is at large written by a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholme de las Casas, and translated into English and manie other languages, intituled *The Spanish cruelties*. Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of ravinous straungers, and especially in those Spaniardes which more greedily thirst after English bloud, then after the lives of anie other people of Europe; for the manie overthrowes and dishonours they have received at our handes, whose weaknesse we have discovered to the world, and whose forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, we have even with handfulles of men and shippes, overthrowne and dishonoured. Let not therefore anie English man of what religion soever, have other opinion of the Spaniards, but that those whom hee seeketh to winne of our nation, hee exteemeth base and traiterous, unworthie persons, or unconstant fooles: and that he useth his pretence of religion for no other purpose but to bewitch us from the obedience of our naturall prince, thereby hoping in time to bring us to slaverie and subjection, and then none shall be unto them so odious, and disdained as the traitours themselves, who have solde their countrie to a straunger, and forsaken their faith and obedience contrarie to nature or religion; and contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who have alwaies sustained what labour soever, and embraced even death it selfe, for their countrie, prince or common-wealth.[8]

Viewing the menace of Spain as he did, Ralegh was able to point out precisely the manner in which the safety of England was to be assured. In a passage on naval transport, in the *History of the World,* he wrote:

And to say the truth, it is impossible for any maritime Countrie, not having the coasts admirably fortified, to defend it selfe against a powerfull enemie, that is master of the Sea.[9]

This proposition he puts more positively a moment later, by saying:

But making the question generall and positive, Whether England, without helpe of her fleet, be able to debarre an enemie from landing, I hold that it is unable so to doe, and therefore I thinke it most dangerous to make the

[8] *Sir Walter Raleigh: Selections from his Writings,* ed. Hadow, pp. 161-163.
[9] *Selections,* ed. Hadow, p. 104.

adventure. For the incouragement of a first victorie to an enemy, and the discouragement of being beaten to the invaded, may draw after it a most perilous consequence.[10]

This position he defends by a long series of illustrations, part of them consisting of a detailed examination of what would pretty surely happen were a hostile army to be permitted to land on English soil, and part of them drawn from his own experiences at Fayal in 1597. The whole argument he concludes with the words:

For end of this digression, I hope this question shall never come to triall; his Majesties many moveable Forts will forbid the experience. And although the English will no lesse disdaine than any Nation under heaven can doe, to be beaten upon their owne ground or elsewhere by a forraigne enemie; yet to entertaine those that shall assaile us, with their owne beefe in their bellies and before they eate of our Kentish Capons, I take it to be the wisest way. To doe which, his Majestie, after God, will imploy his good ships on the Sea, and not trust to any intrenchment upon the shore.[11]

Finally, it should be pointed out that Ralegh saw clearly that the menace of Spain consisted in large part in the treasure which was supplied by South America, gold which was not only the sinews of war for England's enemy but also a means of corruption everywhere. To conquer Spain, therefore, meant not only the necessity of possessing a superior war fleet but also the use of this fleet to cut off Spain's source of supplies. The idea is expressed repeatedly in his writings: perhaps it is phrased most eloquently in the preface to his *Discovery of Guiana,* where, after pointing out that the great enterprise is likely to fail through English indifference, he says:

If the Spanish nation had been of like belief to these detractors, we would little have feared or doubted their attempts, wherewith we are now daily threatened: but if we now consider of the actions both of Charles the Fifth, who had the maidenhead of Peru, and the abundant treasures of Atabalipa, together with the affairs of the Spanish king now living, what territories he hath purchased, what he hath added to the acts of his predecessors, how many kingdoms he hath endangered, how many armies, garrisons, and navies he hath and doth maintain; the great losses which he hath repaired, as in 88 above one hundred sail of great ships, with their artillery, and that no year is less unfortunate but that many vessels, treasures, and people are devoured; and yet, notwithstanding, he beginneth again, like a storm, to threaten shipwreck to us all; we shall find that these abilities rise not from the trades of sack and Seville oranges, nor from ought else that either Spain, Portugal, or any of his other provinces produce: it is his Indian gold that endangereth and disturbeth all the nations of Europe; it purchaseth intelligence, creepeth into councils, and setteth bound loyalty at liberty in the greatest monarchies of Europe. If the Spanish king can keep us from foreign enter-

[10] *Selections*, ed. Hadow, p. 106.
[11] *Selections*, ed. Hadow, p. 113.

prises, and from the impeachment of his trades, either by offer of invasion or by besieging us in Britain, Ireland, or elsewhere, he hath then brought the work of our peril in great forwardness. . . . I have therefore laboured all my life, both according to my small power and persuasion, to advance all those attempts that might either promise return of profit to ourselves, or at least be a let and impeachment to the quiet course and plentiful trades of the Spanish Nation.[12]

To destroy the menace of Spain Ralegh proposed to employ three agencies, all of them connected with sea-power. The first of these was the development of the naval strategy that had proved successful in '88. Against the Spanish theory of large ships heavily manned with soldiers who were to board and fight hand to hand, Ralegh proposed to use light ships, fast and easily maneuvered, manned by comparatively few men, and made formidable through ordnance. By extensive employment of ordnance, he says, "we might have commanded the seas, and thereby the trade of the world itself."[13] British prowess and naval strategy, he tells King James, were once of a quality that forced England's enemies not to "dispute *de mari libero*" but to acknowledge "the English to be *domini maris Britannici*."[14] It seemed to him, therefore, "exceedingly lamentable that for any respect in the world, seeing the preservation of the state and monarchy doth surmount all other respects, that strangers [*sc.* the Hollanders, whose maritime trade threatened to drive both Britain and Spain from the seas] should be permitted to eat us out, by exporting and importing both our own commodities and those of foreign nations: for it is no wonder we are overtopped in all the trade we have abroad and far off, seeing we have the grass cut from under our feet in our fields and pastures."[15]

To recover this prestige Ralegh advised, over and over again, that ships of the line be supplemented by the construction of a large number of hoys, small ships armed with ordnance, through which the mightiest armadas could be conquered.[16] He prepared for Prince Henry an essay on the navy and sea-service that showed the most intimate knowledge of ship-building, naval strategy, and personnel.[17] The fame of past victories will not protect Britain; the need for perfect preparation for a contest certain to come sooner or later is sufficient argument against those who neglect the development of Britain's sea-power.[18] "Peace," he says, "is a great blessing of God, and blessed are the peacemakers; and therefore, doubtless, blessed are those means whereby

[12] *Works*, VIII, 388-389.
[13] "A Discourse of the Invention of Ships," *Works*, VIII, 331.
[14] *ibid.*, 327.
[15] *ibid.*, 334.
[16] *ibid.*, 328-329; Observations Concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service," *Works*, VIII, 337 ff.; "Of the Art of War at Sea," from the *History of the World*, Hadow, 100-102.
[17] *Works*, VIII, 335 ff.
[18] *ibid.*, 348-349.

peace is gained and maintained.[19] Thus Ralegh wrote of naval strategy, "a subject, to my knowledge, never handled by any man, ancient or modern."[20] The burden of all his writing was that Britain "can never be conquered whilst the kings thereof keep the dominion of the seas."[21]

Besides a strong navy, England, in Ralegh's judgment, should capture the trade of the world through the establishment of a great merchant marine and through alliance with Holland. His "Observations on Trade and Commerce" [22] shows a mastery of the details of the foreign trade of England and other countries and a skill in the use of these details that surprise one. He shows that England had neglected both trade opportunities and the merchant marine that should carry her commerce, allowing Holland, not a producing nation, to outstrip her and to rival Spain. Once more, the small ship, manned by a few men, is recommended. By such means, he says, Holland has captured the trade of France, Portugal, Spain, Italy, Turkey, and the East and West Indies.[23] Some towns have nearly a thousand sail of ships. They fish in British waters and their trade in herring alone runs into millions of pounds annually, while the English have none. They have near six hundred ships for the lumber trade; three thousand ships for trade with the East; two thousand for France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, while the English have no ships in that trade. Between five and six hundred ships are sent to English ports every year, against forty British ships in the trade with the Low Countries. Lacking timber for construction, they nevertheless build a thousand ships a year, "yet our ships and mariners decline, and traffic and merchants daily decay."[24] On the basis of such facts as these, Ralegh argues for the building of a great merchant marine and shows how such a policy will bring rich rewards. His purpose, he says, is "to allure and encourage the people for their private gain, to be all workers and erectors of a commonwealth; . . . to make the land powerful by increasing of ships and marines."[25]

The rule of the sea, Ralegh holds in another place, belongs rightfully to Britain. The United Provinces can not take it away, but must seek an English alliance, and this alliance means the overthrow of Spain. The Hollanders have won their freedom,—

> But be their estate what it will, let them not deceive themselves in believing that they can make themselves masters of the sea, for certainly the shipping of England, with the great squadron of his majesty's navy royal, are able, in despite of any prince or state in Europe, to command the great and large

[19] *Ibid.*, 350.
[20] From the *History of the World*, Hadow, 102.
[21] *Works*, VIII, 321.
[22] *Works*, VIII, 351 ff.
[23] *Works*, VIII, 358.
[24] *Works*, VIII, 358-366.
[25] *Works*, VIII, 375.

field of the ocean. But . . . I shall never think him a lover of this land or of the king, that shall persuade his majesty from embracing the amity of the United Provinces, for his majesty is no less safe by them than they invincible by him.[26]

The sum of his advice is that Britain should keep on good terms with France and seek open alliance with The Netherlands. Only so may the hatred of Spain be kept in check, "a hatred more than immortal, if more can be to our nation and state."[27] "There are only two ways," he says, "by which England may be afflicted: the one by invasion, being put to the defensive, in which we shall but cast lots for our own garments; the other by impeachment of our trades, by which trades all commonwealths flourish and are enriched. Invaded or impeached we cannot be but by sea, and therefore that enemy which is strongest by shipping is most to be suspected and feared."[28]

To make no terms with Spain, knowing that the issue between the two nations was for nothing less than the sovereignty of the world; to insure predominance through sea-power, through a great merchant marine, and through alliance,—these are the principles of foreign policy that Ralegh insisted on at all times. No matter how remote the subject of his tract, no matter if he is writing a history of the ancient world, always he returns to his theme. To Spain he was sacrificed at length, and his prophecies came true. "For King James," says Oldys,—

> For King James, soon after Ralegh's execution, beginning to see how he was and would be deluded by the Spaniard, made one of his ministers write to his agent in Spain, to let that state know they should be looked upon as the most unworthy people in the world, if they did not now act with sincerity, since his majesty had given so many testimonies of his; and now of late, 'by causing Sir Walter Ralegh to be put to death, chiefly for the giving them satisfaction. Further, to let them see how, in many actions of late, his majesty had strained upon the affections of his people, and especially in this last concerning Sir Walter Ralegh, who died with a great deal of courage and constancy. Lastly, that he should let them know how able a man Sir Walter Ralegh was, to have done his majesty service. Yet, to give them content, he hath not spared him; when by preserving him, he might have given great satisfaction to his subjects, and had at command, upon all occasions, as useful a man as served any prince in Christendom.[29]

II

The capstone to Ralegh's imperial policy is found in his theory of colonization. As Hakluyt observed, the original plan was to establish in Virginia and North Carolina a colonial empire to rival Spain. The

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[26] "A Discourse of the Invention of Ships," *Works*, VIII, 332. See also "A Discourse Touching a War with Spain," VIII, 299 ff.
[27] *Works*, VIII, 252.
[28] *Works*, VIII, 302.
[29] *Life*, Oxford Edition, I. 568.

need of money was great, and the beginning difficult, but in time English commerce would reap untold benefits and the enterprise would "prove far more beneficial in divers respects to this our realm than the world, yea many of the wiser sort, have hitherto imagined."[30] But before this new colony had been firmly established the war with Spain was on. Ralegh became a member of the national council of war and threw his whole influence into the work of seeing that the Armada should be met by a sea-power able to destroy it before the army which it carried could be landed on British soil. The effect of his pre-occupation with the direct danger from Spain, which continued in one way or another for several years, was to divert his attention from colonization in North Carolina. When he returned to the project of a colonial empire to rival Spain, it was with the idea that England's enemy should be supplanted in the very field that he had pre-empted and from which he had drawn such vast stores.

The issue is clearly drawn in the Preface to the *Discovery of Guiana.* Spanish gold, he thinks, drawn from America, is the source of England's greatest danger. Through colonization Britain can equal or surpass Spain in revenue, may pass from a state that is always on the defensive to the primacy of the world. That Ralegh intended to establish an empire, not merely to capture booty, is proved by his method. He did not need, he says, to suffer such hardships or to bring himself to poverty. He gave the natives property of greater value than the gold he received. He treated them so kindly, and spoke of his Queen so eloquently, that he drew their hearts to him. His instructions to his men,—to use all courtesy in dealing with the natives, to offer no violence to women, to coöperate for the success of their enterprise, show that he was no Tamburlaine, bent on ruthless conquest. They begged him to protect them against the cruel and blood-thirsty Spaniards. They pledged themselves to serve him and his Queen, whenever he should return to establish her dominion. They told him how to counteract the deadly poisons used on their arrows. Even Berreo, the Spanish governor, Ralegh's prisoner, became his friend and gave him valuable information. And Ralegh's intrepidity, his eagerness to do what Berreo said was impossible, proved the courage of the man and his complete absorption in his great adventure. "I would rather have lost the sack of one or two towns," he says in explanation of his failure to bring back the treasure that was the real hope of the Queen, "than to have defaced or endangered the future hope of so many millions, and the great, good, and rich trade which England may be possessed of thereby. I am assured now that they will all die, even to the last man, against the Spaniards, in hope of

[30]Dedication to Ralegh, quoted by Oldys, I. 88-89.

our succour and return: whereas otherwise, if I had either laid hands on the borderers, or ransomed the lords as Berreo did, or invaded the subjects of Inga, I knew all had been lost for hereafter."[31] He planned to send English colonizers to Guiana.[32] And these colonists, the governors of the new realm, should civilize the natives by showing them how to build up cities and become more prosperous than in their unordered life before the English came:

That the only way to civilize and reform the savage and barbarous lives and corrupt manners of such people is,

1. To be dealt withal by gentle and loving conversation among them; to attain to the knowledge of their language, and of the multitude of the special discommodities and inconveniences in their manner of living.

2. The next is to get an admired reputation amongst them, upon a solid and true foundation of piety, justice, and wisdom, conjoined with fortitude and power.

3. The third is, discreetly to possess them with a knowledge of the condition of their own estate. Thus Orpheus and Amphion were said to draw after them the beasts of the field, etc. And this must be first wrought by a visible representation of the certainty, truth, and sincerity of these, together with the felicity of a reformed estate. All which is but to give foundation, bottom, and firm footing unto action, and to prepare them to receive wholesome and good advice, for the future profit and felicity of themselves and their posterity. For the more commodious effecting of this reformation in a rude and barbarous people, they are to be persuaded to withdraw and unite themselves into several colonies; that by it an interchangeable communication and commerce of all things may more commodiously be had, and that they may so live together in civility, for the better succour and welfare of one another: and thereby they may more easily be instructed in the Christian faith, and governed under the magistrates and ministers of the king, or other superior power, under whom this reformation is sought.[33]

It is evident, therefore, that Ralegh's true claim to greatness consists in the fact that he was the first Englishman to sense clearly the path which Britain was to take. He pointed out the way to the domination of the sea that made imperial Britain possible. This was the first pillar in the arch wherethrough gleamed that enchanted world which had not even dawned upon the imaginations of the governors of the realm. The second pillar was his conception of colonization, the conception that has made Great Britain a builder of states, not an exploiter of subject races. The difference between Spanish methods and Ralegh's methods is the difference between German colonies and the

[31] *Discovery of Guiana*, *Works*, VIII, 451.

[32] "The Oroonoko itself had long ere this had five thousand English in it, I assure myself, had not my employment at Calez, the next year after my return from Guiana, and after that our journey to the islands, hindered me for two years [*i. e.*, after the first voyage], after which Tiron's rebellion made her majesty unwilling that any great number of ships or men should be taken out of England." Letter to Carew, shortly before his execution, Works, VIII, 503.

[33] "The Magnificency and Opulency of Cities," *Works*, VIII. 541-542.

colonies of Great Britain. The advantage to Britain and to native races was to be mutual. In all that Ralegh had to say on the subject, and, what gives greater weight than mere academic theory, in all that he did, under insuperable difficulties, to give to the creature of his vision flesh and blood, there lies implicit the philosophy that has made the British empire a League of Free Nations, the model for a world. Beside this accomplishment the record of Philip Sidney is pale and ineffectual. For Sidney was fortunate in his life, and in his death he has been the inheritor of unfulfilled renown. But Ralegh, forced to spend his best years in prison, constantly subject to jealousy and distrust, his first colonial plan destroyed by the conflict with Spain and his second destroyed by those who plotted his ruin because they thought that he stood in the way of their advancement, was yet of such indomitable purpose in his old age, weakened by imprisonment and impoverished by his enemies, as to sally forth like Tennyson's Ulysses, doubting not, to use his own splendid phrase about his earlier expedition, "but for one year more to hold fast my soul in my teeth," only to be sacrificed to the enemy that he had fought all his life. Here are elements of greatness that are of the very texture of the fabric of Britain's power.

Sir Walter Ralegh as a Man of Letters[1]

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If Sir Walter Ralegh could be with us today, he could greet us with a phrase that would catch the spirit of the moment. Great occasions beget great phrases, and Ralegh had the superb gift—like many other renowned men of action—of uttering words which seize the imagination. The shout of Douglas as he hurled the heart of Bruce in front of him in his last battle, "Pass first, great heart, as thou wert ever wont"; the exhortation of Cromwell, "Put your trust in God and keep your powder dry"—these sayings are living literature which spring full armed from the eloquence of events. As Ralegh stood on the scaffold, three hundred years ago today, his gift of speech rose to new heights of glory. "I thank God that He has sent me to die in the light and not in darkness"—"I have a long journey to go; therefore must take my leave." Then, having put off his gown and doublet, he called to the headsman to show him the axe, which not being suddenly done, he said, "I prithee, let me see it. Dost thou think that I am afraid of it?" Having fingered the edge of it a little, he returned it and said, smiling, to the sheriff, "This is a sharp medicine, but it is a sound cure for all diseases." Being asked which way he would lay himself on the block, he answered, "So the heart be right, it is no matter which way the head lies." Few men in the last scene of their lives which had been played on a theatre so extensive and majestic, could find such speeches as the curtain came down. And if Ralegh were standing here, seeing the fruits of his prophecy about America, "I shall yet live to see it an English nation," realizing the new ties that encircle all English-speaking peoples, and rejoicing in the approaching victory over black crime, his tongue would ennoble the day with a splendid utterance.

Strange that this great Englishman—the greatest Englishman of his time, except Shakespeare—this soldier, sailor, explorer, colonizer, should find a place in histories of literature as a man of letters. And yet not strange, because literature with him was a part of his life—what literature ought to be. What he wrote, he wrote because he had to express his feelings or ideas, his hatred of the arch-enemy, Spain, his exuberant joy in adventure, his love of a good fight. With such a man words are acts. "It is easy to find words when one mounts to the assault," Rostrand says in *Cyrano de Bergerac*. Throughout the poems and songs,

[1]The poems and narratives mentioned in this address, as well as extracts from the Trial and the Dying Speech on the scaffold, are to be found in the author's *Sir Walter Ralegh: The Shepherd of The Ocean*, New York, Macmillan, 1916.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF SIR WALTER RALEGH
Hayes Barton, near Budleigh-Salterton, Devon

RIVER FRONT OF DURHAM HOUSE, RALEGH'S LONDON RESIDENCE, 1584-1603
His Study Was in the Little Turret
From a Drawing by Hollar in the Pepysian Library, Cambridge

the narratives of sea-fights, the record of tropical adventure, and later in the *History of the World,* Ralegh's telling phrases sprang rapidly to his lips. Take his Epitaph on Sir Philip Sidney, who died fighting in Flanders. He expresses his country's grief, but also her pride, in language which may be today the elegy of so many who have died for liberty in Flanders. (I quote a few stanzas only.)

"Whence to sharp wars sweet honour did thee call,
Thy country's love, religion, and thy friends;
Of worthy men the marks, the lives, and ends,
And her defence, for whom we labour all.

Back to the camp by thee that day was brought,
First thine own death; and after, thy long fame;
Tears to the soldiers; the proud Castilian's shame;
Virtue expressed, and honour truly taught.

What hath he lost that such great grace hath won?
Young years for endless years, and hope unsure
Of fortune's gifts for wealth that still shall dure:
O happy race, with so great praises run!

England doth hold thy limbs, that bred the same;
Flanders thy valour, where it last was tried;
The camp thy sorrow, where thy body died;
Thy friends thy want; the world thy virtue's fame.

That day their Hannibal died, our Scipio fell,—
Scipio, Cicero, and Petrarch of our time;
Whose virtues, wounded by my worthless rhyme,
Let angels speak, and heaven thy praises tell."

Remember these lines wherein speaks heart of oak:

"England doth hold thy limbs, that bred the same;
Flanders thy valour, where it last was tried."

Again, take the *Verses found in his Bible in the Gate-house at Westminster,* written out in full the night before his death (including six lines composed earlier in his life, but now traced again with what pathos we can imagine, and completed with a new couplet):

"EVEN such is time, that takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, our all we have,
And pays us but with earth and dust;
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wandered all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days;
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
My God shall raise me up, I trust!"

"O Cruel Time" he had begun, years before. Now he voices the final, dispassionate judgment, "Even such is time." With what simplicity, and yet with what stately music, the poem proceeds. The new lines at the end throw a halo of religious feeling over the entire piece.

Ralegh's poetry differs from that of his fellow Elizabethan courtiers. It is not "literary"; it is not filled with the elaborate filigree of the conceits of the time; it does not savor of the closet and the tiring-room. The three adjectives applied to his poetry by his contemporary Puttenham in the *Arte of English Poesie* ten generations of critics have not improved upon: "For dittie and amorous ode, I find Sir Walter Ralegh's vein most lofty, insolent, and passionate." And these qualities arise from Ralegh's own pride and impatient nature.

There is nothing that we should call sweetness of soul here; there is no tender sympathy for the pathos of life; again, there is no sense of illusion or of mystery, no glamour of unreality. Rather there is a bitterness, a contempt for sentiment. He cuts life down to the bone and he finds the bone—hard. His poetry is the dramatic expression of his emotion of the moment, his antipathies, his cynicism, his disgust. "If all the world and love were young," he says in the reply to Marlowe's song *The Passionate Shepherd to His Love.* Perhaps that one line sums up Ralegh's attitude: "If all the world and love *were* young." What a world-old and world-weary chill! Marlowe's shepherd had sung:

> Come live with me, and be my love;
> And we will all the pleasures prove
> That hills and valleys, dales and fields,
> Woods, or steepy mountain yields.
>
> And we will sit upon the rocks,
> Seeing the shepherds feed their flocks
> By shallow rivers, to whose falls
> Melodious birds sing madrigals.
>
> And I will make thee beds of roses,
> And a thousand fragrant posies;
> A cap of flowers, and a kirtle
> Embroidered all with leaves of myrtle;
>
> A gown made of the finest wool
> Which from our pretty lambs we pull;
> Fair-lined slippers for the cold,
> With buckles of the purest gold;

A belt of straw and ivy-buds,
With coral clasps and amber-studs:
And if these pleasures may thee move,
Come live with me, and be my love.

The shepherd-swains shall dance and sing
For thy delight each May-morning;
If these delights thy mind may move,
Then live with me, and be my love."

And to this innocent optimism Ralegh replies:

"If all the world and love were young,
And truth in every shepherd's tongue,
These pretty pleasures might me move
To live with thee and be thy love.

But time drives flocks from field to fold,
When rivers rage and rocks grow cold;
And Philomel becometh dumb;
The rest complains of cares to come.

The flowers do fade, and wanton fields
To wayward winter reckoning yields:
A honey tongue, a heart of gall,
Is fancy's spring, but sorrow's fall.

Thy gowns, thy shoes, thy beds of roses,
Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy posies,
Soon break, soon wither, soon forgotten,—
In folly ripe, in reason rotten.

Thy belt of straw and ivy-buds,
Thy coral clasps and amber-studs,—
All those in me no means can move
To come to thee and be thy love.

But could youth last, and love still breed;
Had joys no date, nor age no need;
Then those delights my mind might move
To live with thee and be thy love."

In another poem, *As You Came from the Holy Land,* he says:

"Know that Love is a careless child,
And forgets promise past;
He is blind, he is deaf when he list,
And in faith never fast.

His desire is a dureless content,
And a trustless joy;
He is won with a world of despair,
And is lost with a toy."

The courtier who has learned from long experience speaks in these lines:

"Fain would I, but I dare not; I dare, and yet I may not;
I may, although I care not, for pleasure when I play not.
You laugh because you like not; I jest when as I joy not;
You pierce, although you strike not; I strike and yet annoy not."

Ralegh's passionate love of justice, however, his hatred of treachery, blazed forth at the crises in his life. Early in favor with Elizabeth, he was often out of favor. When he was committed to the Tower (1592) by the Queen, who discovered that he was in love with Elizabeth Throgmorton, one of her maids of honor, he wrote the twenty-first and last book of his long poem *Cynthia.* The frenzy of grief which he expresses at being debarred from the presence of the Queen is the language of exaggeration; but Ralegh, with his desire to be foremost and to exceed all men, undoubtedly exaggerated for the pure love of dazzling. It was probably these bitter experiences at court that brought forth *The Lie,* a poem which flashes with scorn and anger:

"Go, Soul, the body's guest,
  Upon a thankless arrant:
Fear not to touch the best;
  The truth shall be thy warrant:
Go, since I needs must die,
And give the world the lie.

Say to the court, it glows
  And shines like rotten wood;
Say to the church, it shows
  What's good, and doth no good:
If church and court reply,
Then give them both the lie.

Tell potentates, they live
  Acting by others' action;
Not loved unless they give,
  Not strong but by a faction:
If potentates reply,
Give potentates the lie.

. . . . .

Tell zeal it wants devotion;
  Tell love it is but lust;
Tell time it is but motion;
  Tell flesh it is but dust:
And wish them not reply,
For thou must give the lie.

. . . . .

Tell physic of her boldness;
  Tell skill it is pretension,
Tell charity of coldness;
  Tell law it is contention:
And as they do reply,
So give them still the lie."

Immediately after the disgraceful perversion of justice called a trial, by which Ralegh was condemned to death after the accession of James the First (1603), his spirit flamed forth in *The Pilgrimage*. Written in the shadow of death, this poem first voices his hope of salvation, and then in the second half flays the treachery of those who had done him to death. Nothing in Ralegh has more serene beauty than some of the lines in the first part of this poem. There is a preternatural simplicity, a Pre-Raphaelite naiveté in his picture of the heavenly land.

SIR WALTER RALEGH'S PILGRIMAGE

"GIVE me my scallop-shell of quiet,
  My staff of faith to walk upon,
My scrip of joy, immortal diet,
  My bottle of salvation,
My gown of glory, hope's true gage;
And thus I'll take my pilgrimage.

Blood must be my body's balmer;
  No other balm will there be given;
Whilst my soul, like quiet palmer,
  Travelleth towards the land of heaven;
Over the silver mountains,
Where spring the nectar fountains:
      There will I kiss
      The bowls of bliss;
And drink mine everlasting fill
Upon every milken hill.
My soul will be a-dry before;
But after, it will thirst no more.

Then by that happy blissful day,
  More peaceful pilgrims I shall see,
That have cast off their rags of clay,
  And walk apparelled fresh like me.
      I'll take them first
      To quench their thirst
  And taste of nectar suckets,
      At those clear wells
      Where sweetness dwells,
  Drawn up by saints in crystal buckets.

And when our bottles and all we
Are filled with immortality,
Then the blessed paths we'll travel,
Strowed with rubies thick as gravel;
Ceilings of diamonds, sapphire floors,
High walls of coral and pearly bowers.
From thence to heaven's bribeless hall,
Where no corrupted voices brawl;
No conscience molten into gold,
No forged accuser bought or sold,
No cause deferred, no vain-spent journey,
For there Christ is the king's Attorney,
Who pleads for all without degrees,
And He hath angels, but no fees.
And when the grand twelve-million jury
Of our sins, with direful fury,
Against our souls black verdicts give,
Christ pleads His death, and then we live.
Be Thou my speaker, taintless pleader,
Unblotted lawyer, true proceeder!
Thou givest salvation even for alms;
Not with a bribed lawyer's palms.
And this is mine eternal plea
To Him that made heaven, earth, and sea,
That, since my flesh must die so soon,
And want a head to dine next noon,
Just at the stroke, when my veins start and spread,
Set on my soul an everlasting head!
Then am I ready, like a palmer fit,
To tread those blest paths which before I writ.

Of death and judgment, heaven and hell,
Who oft doth think, must needs die well."

But in hours when fortune was smiling and Ralegh's heart was not chilled by baseness and ingratitude and stratagems, he could glow with warmth and sincere admiration. He could praise, none more majestically. Witness his magnificent sonnet on Spenser's *Faerie Queen,* the nobility of whose music won imitation by Milton:

"Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
Within that temple where the vestal flame
Was wont to burn: and, passing by that way,
To see that buried dust of living fame,
Whose tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept,
All suddenly I saw the Faerie Queen,
At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept;
And from thenceforth those graces were not seen,

For they this Queen attended; in whose stead
Oblivion laid him down on Laura's hearse.
Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
And groans of buried ghosts the heaven did pierce:
Where Homer's spright did tremble all for grief,
And cursed the access of that celestial thief."

Recall, too, the Epitaph on Sidney, and the sonnet to Sir Arthur Gorges, one of his captains in the voyage to the Azores, which has these lofty lines:

"Change not! To change thy fortune 'tis too late:
Who with a manly faith resolves to die,
May promise to himself a lasting state."

As a poet, then, Ralegh is a surprising figure. He would be more surprising if we had the twenty lost books of his poem *Cynthia,* which must have amounted to ten or fifteen thousand lines. This was praised by Spenser, when the two poets read their poems to each other at Spenser's house in Ireland and wrote admiring sonnets about each other's epics. It was Raleigh who presented Spenser to the Queen. It was Spenser who gave Ralegh the title of "the Shepherd of the Ocean," which so picturesquely sums up Sir Walter's exploits on the sea. And the lines in which this title is introduced trail the seaweed after them:

"The Shepherd of the Oceän by name,
And said he came far from the main-sea deep."

"Far from the main-sea deep" he sailed with untarnished flag. Running down the trades, coursing the hot Carribean, sweeping the blue waters of the Azores, breasting Cadiz Harbor, he did all gallantly, competing for posts of danger, and setting his eyes on the bright blazon of honor. Of his capture of Fayal, he says, "The truth is, that I could have landed my men with more ease than I did; yea without finding any resistance, if I would have rowed to another place; yea even there where I landed, if I would have taken more companie to helpe me. But, without fearing any imputation of rashnesse, I may say, that I had more regard of reputation, in that businesse, than of safetie. For I thought it to belong unto the honor of our Prince and Nation." And at Cadiz, "I was resolved to give and not take example for this service; holding mine own reputation dearest, and remembering my great duty to her Majesty. With the first peep of day, therefore, I weighed anchor, and bare with the Spanish fleet, taking the start of all ours a good distance." A good fight and a fair fight, and a high rivalry in being first to strike and first to win! How Ralegh's heart would burst with

rage against the barbarous German submarines which have foully murdered living and belovèd ships with their precious human burden, and have

> "The multitudinous seas incarnadined,
> Making the green *one red!*"

And what did the Shepherd of the Ocean write about his sea? Unfortunately no songs of sailormen, no witching poems caught from the kiss of foam. (We regret that.) But rather sea-fights and voyages, the clash of cutlasses, the salvos of cannon! The most famous of these prose narratives is *A Report of the Truth of the Fight about the Isles of Açores, this last summer, betwixt the Revenge, one of her Majestie's Ships, and an Armada of the King of Spain* (1591). It was this account of the last fight and death of Sir Richard Grenville, Ralegh's cousin, that inspired Tennyson to write his ballad *The Revenge.* The story of the exploration of Guiana appeared in 1596: *The Discovery of the large, rich and beautiful Empire of Guiana, with a Relation of the great and golden City of Manoa, which the Spaniards call El Dorado.* In the same year he wrote *A Relation of Cadiz Action*—a report written immediately after the defeat of the Spanish fleet in Cadiz Harbor, where all the English commanders vied with each other in leading the attack and Ralegh outstripped the rest.

These narratives of Ralegh's are the work of a man of action *in action.* They might have been written while on the deck of his ship with a quill dipped in tar. As he says, he "neither studied phrase, forme, nor fashion." He did not carve his sentences in alabaster: he cut them out with his sword. Sometimes hacked them, too. Often the unity of them disappears; and we have the breathless effect of rapid talk, afterthoughts quickly added, so eager is he to tell us all the ringing circumstances. As here, in the fight of the *Revenge*:

> "Unto ours there remained no comfort at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the mastes all beaten over board, all her tackle cut asunder, her upper works altogither rased, and in effect even shee was with the water, but the verie foundation or bottom of a ship, nothing being left over head either for flight or defence. Syr *Richard* finding himselfe in this distresse, and unable anie longer to make resistance, having endured in this fifteene houres fight, the assault of fifteene several Armadoes, all by tornnes aboorde him, and by estimation eight hundred shot of great artillerie, besides manie assaults and entries. And that himself and the shippe must needes be possessed by the enemie, who were now all cast in a ring round about him; The *Revenge* not able to move one way or other, but as she was moved with the waves and billow of the sea: commanded the maister Gunner, whom he knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe;

that thereby nothing might remaine of glorie or victorie to the Spaniards: seeing in so manie houres fight, and with so great a Navie they were not able to take her, having had fifteene houres time, fifteene thousand men, and fiftie and three saile of men of warre to performe it withall."

It is the words themselves that enchant us, the words that ride boldly on the tossing waves of his sentences. The phrases glint with the sun. The tropical splendors of *The Discovery of Guiana* charm our eyes.

"I never saw a more beautiful country, nor more lively prospects; hills so raised here and there over the valleys; the river winding into divers branches; the plains adjoining without bush of stubble, all fair green grass; the ground of hard sand, easy to march on, either for horse or foot; the deer crossing in every path; the birds towards the evening singing on every tree with a thousand several tunes; cranes and herons of white, crimson, and carnation, perching in the river's side; the air fresh with a gentle easterly wind; and every stone that we stooped to take up promised either gold or silver by his complexion."

A voyage full of marvels is this, as any voyage in quest of El Dorado—the Gilded King and the Golden City—has every romantic right to be. These marvels Ralegh sets forth in words which are brushed with gold. They kindle our imagination as they kindled Shakespeare's.

"Next unto Arui there are two rivers Atoica and Caura, and on that branch which is called Caura are a nation of people whose heads appear not above their shoulders; which though it may be thought a mere fable, yet for mine own part I am resolved it is true, because every child in the provinces of Aromaia and Canuri affirm the same. They are called Ewaipanoma; they are reported to have their eyes in their shoulders, and their mouths in the middle of their breasts, and that a long train of hair groweth backward between their shoulders."

This picturesque wonder Shakespeare seized upon when he wrote the story of Othello's adventures:

> "Wherein of antres vast and deserts idle,
> Rough quarries, rocks, and hills whose heads touch heaven,
> It was my hint to speak,—such was my process,—
> And of the Cannibals that each other eat,
> The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads
> Do grow beneath their shoulders." *Othello*: I, 3.

The Amazons, that warlike race of women, throw their bewitchment over the pages. A mountain of chrystal and a super-Niagara amaze us. Alligators swarm the Orinoco—grotesquely decorative.

"We saw in the river divers sorts of strange fishes, and of marvellous bigness; but for *lagartos*, it exceeded, for there were thousands of those

ugly serpents; and the people call it, for the abundance of them, the *River of Lagartos*, in their language. I had a negro, a very proper young fellow, who leaping out of the galley to swim in the mouth of this river, was in all our sights taken and devoured with one of those *lagartos*."

And always just beyond our reach the Golden City lures us—"Manoa, the imperial City of Guiana." Here reigns the Gilded King himself, called *El Dorado* by the Spanish conquistadores because of a dazzling ceremony. "When they are anointed all over, certain servants of the emperor, having prepared gold made into fine powder, blow it through hollow canes upon their naked bodies, until they be all shining from the foot to the head." To this goal of so many adventurers Sir Walter never came. He did indeed discover evidences of gold mines, he made a large map of the Orinoco, and he became convinced that England should possess Guiana.

"Those commanders and chieftains that shoot at honour and abundance shall find there more rich and beautiful cities, more temples adorned with golden images, more sepulchres filled with treasure, than either Cortes found in Mexico or Pizarro in Peru. And the shining glory of this conquest will eclipse all those so far-extended beams of the Spanish nation."

The story of these voyages and battles should be read by every American. We too often forget that these Elizabethan exploits are a part of our own history; that they are the exploits of our own ancestors. The fight of the *Revenge* was our fight. The victory over the Spanish Armada was our victory. We circled the globe with Drake in the *Golden Hind*. We are the breed of the Shepherd of the Ocean. Our grand fleet—the combined fleet of Anglo-Saxon folk—is today the bulwark of the world.

When the death of Elizabeth came in 1603, the shadow of the axe swept over the poet and courtier, the soldier and voyager. The days of action were over: now followed the period of contemplation—thirteen years in the Tower. And Sir Walter, over fifty years of age, sat down in his cell to write—oh, soaring ambition! oh, superb confidence!—the *History of the World*. This work is the greatest monument of his literary fame. Ralegh saw the stream of the world in the large. He conceived history as a gigantic unit, as a stupendous moral drama. "We may gather out of history a policy no less wise than eternal; by the comparison and application of other men's fore-passed miseries with our own like errors and ill deservings." In the account of Jerusalem, Babylon, Assyria, Macedon, Greece, and Rome, he emphasizes the retribution which overwhelms "great conquerors and other troublers of the world" who disobey the laws of God and man.

Ralegh had always been a scholar and patron of learning. He never went to sea without a chest of books to read when no Spaniards were in sight. Now that he was confined to quarters in the Bloody Tower, his reading became intensive. He cites in his *History* no less than six hundred and sixty authors. Many subjects engaged his attention and he wrote many treatises, political, philosophical, and military, among which are: *The Prerogative of Parliaments in England, The Prince, or Maxims of State, The Cabinet Council, Observations concerning the Royal Navy and Sea Service, and A Discourse on War in General.* Several of these as well as the *History* itself Ralegh wrote for the instruction of Henry, the young Prince of Wales, who was much attached to him. "Who but my father," cried the Prince, "would keep such a bird in a cage!"

Voluminous as were the writings of those long years of imprisonment, only the *History of the World* was published in his lifetime. This took rank at once as a superb masterpiece. It was the first great historical work in English. It exercised a strong influence on the Puritans. It nourished many of the finest spirits of the succeeding age—Hampden, Cromwell, Montrose.

The book itself is a pageant of monarchies. Ancient kings and queens sweep past us; the drums and tramplings of innumerable conquests resound from afar. The wreck of empires is shot through with bright interludes of Ralegh's own experience—the Battle of Moncontour, the capture of Fayal, the tactics of the Armada. His prose is clothed in regal state, and his style swells to the mighty theme of God's punishment of cruel and unrighteous monarchs. His majestic organ-note can best be appreciated if his opening lines on the attributes of God, and his last page, the Apostrophe to Death, are read aloud in a cathedral.

"It is Death that puts into man all the wisdom of the world, without speaking a word, which God, with all the words of his law, promises, or threats, doth not infuse. Death, which hateth and destroyeth man, is believed; God, which hath made him and loves him, is always deferred; *I have considered,* saith Solomon, *all the works that are under the sun, and, behold, all is vanity and vexation of spirit;* but who believes it, till Death tells us? It was Death, which opening the conscience of Charles the Fifth, made him enjoin his son Philip to restore Navarre; and king Francis the First of France, to command that justice should be done upon the murderers of the protestants in Merindol and Cabrieres, which till then he neglected. It is therefore Death alone that can suddenly make man to know himself. He tells the proud and insolent, that they are but abjects, and humbles them at the instant, makes them cry, complain, and repent, yea, even to hate their forepast happiness. He takes the account of the rich, and proves him a beggar, a naked beggar, which hath interest in nothing but in the gravel

that fills his mouth. He holds a glass before the eyes of the most beautiful, and makes them see therein their deformity and rottenness, and they acknowledge it.

O eloquent, just, and mighty Death! whom none could advise, thou hast persuaded; what none hath dared, thou hast done; and whom all the world hath flattered, thou only hast cast out of the world and despised; thou hast drawn together all the far-stretched greatness, all the pride, cruelty, and ambition of man, and covered it all over with these two narrow words, *Hic jacet!*"

The pulse of balanced sentences, the sonorous tones, the magnificent cadences—were they not the rhythms of surging waves echoing in his ears and reverberating in his Devon heart, as he sat writing in his cell—silent but for the lapping of Thames-ripples at the Traitors' Gate?

ANGLORUM IN VIRGINIAM ADVENTUS

From De Bry's Engraving of John White's Painting

Raleigh's Place in American Colonization

By Charles M. Andrews
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I value the opportunity which you have given me today of taking some part in recalling the memory of one, who though never an actual participant in the upbuilding of this town and state, has a high place among those whom you like to hold in grateful remembrance. Sir Walter Raleigh never set foot upon the soil of this country, yet he stands in your annals as one of the founders of North Carolina, promoter of colonization on its shores, and projector of the "great city of Raleigh," that shadowy precursor of the greater city of Raleigh to come, which by virtue of its name will ever remain a permanent monument of Raleigh's place in your minds and hearts. It is no part of my purpose here to deal with the life of the man whom you have thus signally honored or with the colony which he established—the lost colony of Roanoke. I must leave to others the treatment of these inviting topics and confine myself to the more limited, yet no less important subject of Raleigh's place in American colonization. The theme is one of great dignity and significance, and associated as it is with the larger problems of colonial settlement has a charm and fascination that are peculiarly its own.

The variegated fabric of American colonization is woven of many colors representative of the diversified motives and influences that stirred the men of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to risk their lives and their fortunes in the western seas. Some freighted their keels with the pure lust of excitement, seeking novel experiences in a world enwrapt with mystery and charged with that irresistible attraction which ever lures men onward toward the unknown. Some sought treasure and booty, aroused by the exultant hope of riches from mines of gold and silver and seeing in the plundering of Spanish plate fleets not only a royal road to fortune but an opportunity also for revenge on the Spanish colossus, which threatened England in the Great Armada and lay athwart the path of her mariners in the waters and shores of the central Atlantic. Some with an eye to a more legitimate profit deemed the islands and coasts of the western world a lucrative field for the investment of capital and hoped for returns on their outlay that would double their fortunes and furnish an ample supply of those tropical commodities that were fast becoming a necessary part of the Englishman's daily life. Some, a noble and inspiring band, with their eyes raised to Heaven but not eschewing the things of this world, came as wandering pilgrims, seeking a refuge from religious persecutions

and an opportunity to worship God in their own way. Some, though their numbers were never large, wanted political freedom, and driven from England by the autocratic methods of the second Stuart, endeavored, often blindly, to apply their ideas of government in a new world. And some, by far the most numerous of all, hampered and harrassed by political ruler and landed proprietor in their efforts to earn a living for themselves and their children in their native land, and seeing across the Atlantic boundless areas of unoccupied soil and no less boundless opportunities for the planting of homes and the rearing of families, came not for booty or profit or for religious and political freedom, but for the one purpose of solving that most important of human problems, the problem of existence.

All of these motives and impulses were directly or indirectly at work, aiding in the great task of building up a new society on the soil of America. Those who acted under the pressure of these influences served each in his own way the cause of trans-Atlantic colonization and deserve each according to his accomplishment the praise and recognition that belong to the pioneers in a mighty historical movement. No single force impelled these men or the women who came later to leave home and country, endure long and harrowing voyages, and face danger and frequently death in order to take up their habitation in a frontier land of islands and continent across three thousand miles of tempestuous sea. To establish permanently upon the shores of the western Atlantic the first tiny settlements that mark the beginning of this republic of ours required the combined activities of hundreds and thousands of stouthearted men and women, possessed of many differences of mind and body, of many gradations of physical courage and spiritual faith, and of many sorts of experience accumulated through more than half a century of failure and success. Those who endured and survived were not merely the founders of a nation, they were as well the last actors in a struggle, characterized by glorious, soul-stirring enterprise, that had long been preparing the way for final success and permanent settlement.

The forerunners of colonization in America were in their way as necessary to the attainment of the desired end as were the actual colonists themselves. They were the real pioneers to whom it was given to spy out the land, observing the coasts and testing the waters, and to narrate, often in glowing terms the wonders of the deep and the richness and beauty of soil and country. They mapped out the path of western advance; in their small vessels of limited tonnage, they learned of winds and tides, reefs and shoals, and rivers and harbors; in their reports they told of their experiences, pictured the marvels and curiosities of the new countries, described the flora and fauna of the regions

they visited, and gradually filled in the hitherto unknown spaces of the great canvas of the West with scenes of actual people and actual life. Theirs were the labor and skill that developed a terra incognita into real waters, lands, and peoples; that transformed a world of imagination into a world of facts, a world of mystery and darkness into a world of knowledge and light, an El Dorado into an America. Just as we owe eternal gratitude to those who opened the gateway to our middle and farther West—to Gist, Boone, Clark, Lewis, Fremont, and the Oregon pioneers—so we owe equal gratitude to those who opened the gateway to the New World, the western frontier of the maritime states of Europe, who "blazed the trail" across the waters in the face of winds and storms, braving fogs and treacherous currents, as appalling as the terrors of the western wilderness, and threatened by corsairs and pirates, avenging Spaniards and crafty Algerines, who were as much to be feared as were the red men of the forests.

To this era of forerunners, to this preparatory period in the history of American colonization belongs the figure of that illustrious man, whose death on the scaffold on October 29, three hundred years ago, we are met here today to commemorate. Sir Walter Raleigh belongs to that dim, half mythical period of American history, the period of discovery and exploration, which is filled with the deeds of individual heroes, daring and reckless men, and stands in striking contrast to the later and more prosaic period of actual colonization. To the Englishman at home the New World of Raleigh's day was still an El Dorado; the seas were still peopled by monsters; the lands were dotted with cities of fancied magnificence and emboweled with mines of fabulous wealth; and men's dreams of the tropical world were as strange as were their superstitions, their belief in portents, their explanation of the mechanism of the human body, and their interpretation of the solar system and other phenomena of nature. The age was one of discovery in more ways than one, but it was easier to explore the earth's surface than it was to penetrate the mysteries of the human anatomy or to unravel the laws governing the movements of sun and tide, earthquake and storm. Though Raleigh was able to sail overseas and to see much and to hear more of that which concerned the lands beyond the western horizon, he died three years before Harvey announced to his fellow-men the epoch-making discovery of the circulation of the blood; and he suffered in his death from laws that were as crude in their application to social and political life as were the reasons men gave three centuries ago for the familiar phenomena of the physical universe.

The literature from which we gain our knowledge of the adventures and exploits of this age of romantic activity is closely akin to that

which tells us of similar happenings in the childhood of other peoples than our own. Our epics and sagas are the tales and chronicles of voyages, told by the participants themselves or taken down at their dictation. These prose epics of the English and American nations, some of which came from Portuguese, Spanish, and French sources, were collected, often translated, and finally published by that lovable press agent of adventure, Richard Hakluyt of Oxford and Westminster, himself one of the leaders of the western movement, because though only a humble preacher and gatherer of other men's tales, he turned by means of his publicity the thoughts of his contemporaries toward the glories of the western world. These voyages or "principal navigations," as he calls them, are veritable Odysseys of the sea, stories of wandering suffering, brave deeds and famous victories, calamities, successes, and sudden deaths, and like all personal narratives, unsupported by official or other authentic evidence, are frequently open to suspicion as containing sometimes less and sometimes more than the facts, did we know them all, would warrant. For we must remember that very few official records appear to substantiate the chronicles of voyages—a few patents and letters of marque, a few entries of returns to the royal exchequer, an occasional reference to state interference, when in excess of zeal against Spain, privateers in so-called "voyages of discovery" made trouble for the crown or its ministers and involved the government in some perplexities of policy. In this period of storm and stress, when the young English nation, rapidly growing to man's estate, was moved by the Crusader's zeal for excitement and experience in a larger world, the state took neither lead nor responsibility, contenting itself with sanctioning or condoning private enterprise and sharing in some of the profits of marauding expeditions. Later when the state entered the field and assumed control of colonies that private energy had established, official records steadily increased and the personal narrative gave way to sources that bear an official stamp. The place of the saga was taken by the authoritative record and the age of the Elizabethan adventurer merged into the period of organized colonization and permanent settlement.

Of the many conspicuous individuals of this age of personal prowess none was more pre-eminent than the versatile, resourceful, and courageous Sir Walter Raleigh or more loyally devoted to his sovereign and his country. Raleigh filled his part, at one time or another, as politician and courtier, soldier and sailor, historian and philosopher, with adroitness, bravery, and wise circumspection. He knew the ways of the court and played the gallant to his queen with the same ease that he trod the deck of his ship, or appeased his mutinous sailors with promises of wealth from mines and galleons. He was daring even to

recklessness in his efforts to find in Venezuelan territory the gold of Manoa and judicially calm as he gazed out over the world from his prison room in the Tower and essayed to write with dignity and dispassion the history of the human race. He could dissimulate with the true instinct of a courtier when involved in the intrigues of the court and the whims of his royal mistress, yet he could face the block with an openness of soul, from which all untruth was purged, and utter that noblest of all his sayings, true epitaph of his better self, "What matter how the head lie, so that the heart be right." There is no one connected with American history who possessed and exercised such a variety of gifts as did this philosopher, writer, courtier, and traveler of Elizabethan England.

But his very versatility had its dangers and limitations. Raleigh has nowhere identified himself with great issues or forward movements in politics, religion, diplomacy, or social relations. His place in literature, though assured, depends upon a few lyrics of exceptional sweetness, on a narrative that is possessed of considerable descriptive power, and on passages in his history of the world that are of striking beauty and philosophical breadth—in all a very slender output. He possessed a powerful personality, which will always arrest the world's attention because of the interest which all men have in lives of dramatic action; and he claims our sympathy because of that eternal instinct for justice which is aroused for a man who is a victim of a state policy controlled by a pedant king and upheld by the vicious principle that one is guilty unless he can prove himself innocent. Yet when all is said, the fact remains that Raleigh's chief claim to the attention of the historian lies in the share which he had in the discovery and colonization of the New World. He was in very truth one of the charter members of the most important experiment in colonization that the world has ever seen, an experiment that not only has brought into existence this rich and powerful republic of ours, but also has transformed a small island kingdom into what is likely to become a far-flung British imperial federation of self-governing nations, scattered in all parts of the world, yet held together by bonds of sentiment and loyalty that are stronger than the strongest of political and legal ties. Whoever had part in this, the most important movement of modern times, has secured for himself a permanent place in history.

Raleigh combined in himself three types of adventurous activity. First of all, he promoted voyages of plunder and discovery; secondly, as registered sea-captain, he himself sailed into the heart of the Spanish Caribbean, leading expeditions in search of the gold of Guiana; and lastly, he inaugurated one of the first English attempts to establish a colony on American soil. Thus he was capitalist, sea-dog, and colonizer

in one, covering in his ambitions more varieties of enterprise than any one else of his day. He never circumnavigated the globe, as did Drake and Cavendish; he had no such tragically venturesome career as had his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville; and he never personally shared in the life of a colony, as did William Penn and some of the Calverts. But he covered a wider range of overseas undertakings than any of these, and justly earned that appellation bestowed upon him by his friend, the poet Spenser, of "Shepherd of the Ocean."

There is an absorbingly interesting painting by Sir John Millais which represents the boy Walter, sitting with a companion on the rocks at Budleigh Salverton in South Devonshire, gazing with rapt attention at a bronzed and hardy sailor, muscular and weather-worn, who as he spins his yarn of adventure points with enthusiasm toward the western horizon lying beyond the sweep of ocean visible in the background. No one seeing this painting can but feel the zest of desire that filled the souls of the boys and men of Elizabethan England. Raleigh was born and bred in Devonshire, that land of bold mariners and early maritime activity; he was related to many Devonshire and Cornish families, trained to the sea and familiar with its delights and its terrors; and he was thoroughly acquainted with the coming and going of men and ships from the nearby towns of Bristol, Plymouth, Dartmouth, Barnstaple, Bideford, and other centers of sea-faring life and experience, so well known to readers of Kingsley's stirring tale, *Westward Ho.* It is little wonder that one who was so early steeped in the lore of the West should have been at all times a sailor at heart and should have displayed through life a yearning and love for the sea that betrayed itself not only in his actions but in his writings also whenever he had opportunity to give it expression. He was twenty-six years old, this young Devonshire enthusiast, when he reached the goal of his early ambition and in conjunction with his half brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, joined in a voyage of discovery, as captain of his own vessel, during an unsuccessful expedition of six months. This first test of his powers bore witness to his love of action and quickness of resolve, and to his coolness, daring, and confidence,—efficient allies all of the spirit and hope that throughout his life burned within him.

In any study of Raleigh's colonizing activities, his debt to his older brother cannot be overestimated, and their association at this critical period may be set down as one of the formative influences of Raleigh's life. Sir Humphrey Gilbert has been called an "idealist in the sphere of discovery." He was a man of rare gifts and great energy, an enthusiastic believer in England's maritime expansion, looking northwest and west rather than south, and finding in the one direction a passage to China and the East Indies, and in the other—where lay Newfoundland,

whose banks had been for a century the resort of the hardy fishermen of Cornwall and Devon—favorable opportunities for settlement. Raleigh had already shown the influence of his early surroundings by the interest which he had taken in the idea of a northwest passage to India and by the efforts which he had made to coöperate with his brother in developing certain colonizing enterprises in northern Ireland. It is not at all surprising that these men, reared in Southwestern England, in sight of the waters of the northern Atlantic, should have centered their attention on the region from Hudson Bay to the Gulf of St. Lawrence as a suitable field for their colonizing projects.

Raleigh's training under the tutelage of his brother was received in two expeditions of 1578 and 1583, which were set on foot primarily for discovery and settlement, but incidentally, as was inevitable at that period, for plunder and spoilation. That of 1578, in which Raleigh himself took part as captain of the *Falcon,* was originally designed for purposes of settlement, probably in Newfoundland, by way of the northern route familiar to all Devonshire fishermen. Gilbert, dreaming of a great landed estate for himself in America, had obtained from the crown, perhaps with Raleigh's help, a royal patent granting him wide teritories with large jurisdictions and powers, wherever, under certain limitations, he might establish himself. Under that patent, he and Raleigh set forth from Dartmouth in September 1578. Dissensions arose, many of the company withdrew, those that set sail were driven off their course in a southerly direction toward the Azores and the West Indies, and the expedition failed. Gilbert afterwards insisted that the failure was due to adverse winds and winter storms, "which was God's will not his," and declared that he had faithfully executed his promise to the Queen to avoid plundering Spanish ships and towns. Had he not forbidden his company, he afterwards wrote, "to do anything contrary to his word," and had he not "preferred his credit before his gain, he need not have returned so poor as then he did." But, he added, he was not discouraged and would try again.

The next trial was in 1583, when four of the six years allotted to his patent had expired and delay meant forfeiture and permanent failure. With Raleigh's aid and contributions furnished partly by friends, to whom he conceded grants of land, and partly by certain merchants, to whom he gave trade privileges in this new territory, he fitted out five ships with supplies and goods for barter and in June set sail from Plymouth, with two hundred and fifty men. Late in July he reached Newfoundland. Raleigh had planned to accompany the expedition, but at the last moment, even indeed after the fleet had started on its course, he was recalled by his sovereign, at this time a woman of fifty, and twenty years his senior, who had no desire to risk the life

of her handsome courtier in dangerous voyages on the sea. Thus Raleigh was prevented from taking part in the first expedition that sailed from England with the certain purpose of founding a colony in America.

Gilbert reached Newfoundland, displayed his authority, and took possession of the soil on which he intended to establish a great landed propriety. But the men whom he brought as prospective settlers were not of the stuff from which thrifty, law-abiding colonists are made, and the experiment came to a fatal end. Gilbert was drowned on a further voyage of discovery and the men whom he had left in Newfoundland as tenants and servants on his estate, having no liking for the peaceful pursuits of agriculture and repelled by the bleakness of the Newfoundland coast, soon scattered and disappeared. Thus the first attempt at English colonization in America failed, partly because of the freebooting, unmanageable crowd that Gilbert tried to shape into a tractable body of settlers and partly because of the fog-bound island—never a successful place of habitation during our colonial period—where he sought to locate his proprietary domain.

When Sir Humphrey Gilbert was lost at sea, one of the finest of Elizabethan heroes fell, a victim to his own waywardness and indiscretion. Buffeted by fortune, harrassed by failure, dogged by fate and his own visionary and strong-willed nature, he stands as the first great English dreamer of a colonial empire in the West. Raleigh took his plan of colonization ready-made from Gilbert's hand; his patent for a proprietary domain was almost word for word the same as that which Gilbert had received; and the methods he employed were merely an enlarged and improved edition of those that Gilbert had already tried. The latter was but forty-three years old when he was drowned, a man courageous and determined and in the prime of life. That he had planned to continue his efforts we know, and that he would have gained a greater measure of success had he lived is more than probable. We cannot say how far Raleigh helped him in forming his plans, but it is very likely that he had a considerable share in so doing and that what Gilbert proposed to accomplish was known to Raleigh in all its essential particulars. Raleigh had actually accompanied his brother on one expedition, and though forbidden to go in person on the second—the colonizing venture to Newfoundland—had given it financial aid and had followed its fortunes and guarded its interests at home. Also he was thoroughly alive to the necessity of continuing the task which his brother laid down with his death, and as partner in the enterprise and his brother's logical successor, upon his shoulders fell the burden of carrying Gilbert's plans to a successful conclusion.

Gilbert was drowned in September, 1583, and Raleigh must have received word of that tragic event before the end of the year. Three months later, in March, 1584, a period none too long for the issue of a royal patent—he obtained from the chancery a charter in his own name, conferring the same powers and privileges as those which Gilbert had received. A month later he despatched his own first expedition overseas, under the leadership of two experienced sea-captains, Amadas and Barlowe, with instructions to search for a suitable place in America where a colony might be established. Thus he lost no time in meeting the obligation that rested upon him of completing the work that his brother had begun.

But Raleigh was more than the mere executor of his brother's program. He had ideas of his own and a worldly wisdom which his brother had not possessed. In many important particulars he improved on his brother's design and displayed a certain hard-headed common sense and sagacity that Gilbert had lacked. In the first place, and in some respects most important of all, he would have nothing more to do with the northern route or with Newfoundland as a place for a colony. His reasons for this are not difficult to discover. Raleigh had been learning a great deal about the Atlantic ocean and the New World. He was an intimate of Richard Hakluyt's, with whom he must have discussed these matters frequently, either in private conversation or in correspondence. Hakluyt had issued his first work, *Divers Voyages touching the Discovery of America,* in 1582, and in 1584 had published a *Public Discourse,* "at the request and direction of the right worshipful Sir Walter Rawley." In this way Raleigh had come into possession of many facts regarding the voyages of Spanish and French navigators and the southern route which these navigators had followed. He learned of El Dorado and Florida, of Spanish settlements and wealth, and of the richness and beauty of tropical life, and there can be no doubt but that his mind was stirred not only by the desire to invade Spanish territory and to plant the standard of his queen in the heart of the Spanish Main, but by the hope also of finding land not already possessed by Christian prince or inhabited by Christian people, as his patent required, and more propitious for colonization than were the inhospitable shores of Newfoundland. His plan was to seek the land of Florida and instead of a northern voyage to follow the Spanish navigators in their southern course and approach the American coast by way of the West Indies.

In the second place, he enlarged the scope of the enterprise and placed it on a better financial footing. He must have realized that a colony to be successful should be composed of those who favored peaceful pursuits as well as the acts of rapine and plunder, and that the

boisterous spirits whom his brother had been unable to tame were sorry material for an orderly and well-governed settlement. Therefore, he called to his aid the best men that he could discover, and though inevitably he made mistakes in the selection of his associates, he attracted to his undertakings the most remarkable group of men who up to this time had engaged in western colonization. Amadas and Barlowe, Sir Richard Grenville, Ralph Lane, Cavendish, Hariot, and John White form a notable band, gentlemen corsairs, some of them, it is true, but all men of vigor, while the commoners whom he enlisted seem to have been of the better sort.

The financing of the expedition was well managed. Gilbert, though obtaining help from gentlemen and merchants, had been compelled to draw heavily on his own resources, spending, as he himself estimated, a thousand marks a year, until he was so reduced as to be obliged to sell the very clothes off his wife's back and at his death to leave her almost penniless. Raleigh, on the other hand, whose preferment at court began in 1581, was already enjoying large emoluments from licenses and monopolies, such as the queen was accustomed to grant to her favored courtiers, and was able to add to his own patrimony rich rewards and returns, which rendered him financially independent and, unlike his brother, free to pursue his course without anxiety. He spent, he tells us, £40,000 on his various undertakings in behalf of colonization in America and never received a penny of profit in return. Thus he stands at the head of that long line of ambitious and hopeful Englishmen of rank and wealth, who of their own initiative, unaided by the resources of court or government, attempted to establish settlements in the New World, without receiving interest on their investment or recovering any part of the capital which they had sunk in the work of founding a colonial empire. A few of these have reaped a posthumous reward in the names which perpetuate their memory on American soil, as Raleigh has done in the honor which this state conferred upon him two hundred years after, in selecting his name for its capital city; but many have gone down to oblivion, forgotten by the country which owes more to their sacrifices than most historians have been wont to charge to their credit.

With patent ready-made to his hand, with wide lands and wide privileges at his disposal, with a favorable route and a warmer climate already determined on, with ampler resources, partly his own and partly the gift of his queen at the expense of her subjects, and with greater sagacity and knowledge of human nature, Raleigh in 1584 began that series of expeditions, partly for discovery and partly for colonization, that constitute his chief claim to the gratitude and remembrance of the American people. On April 27 of that year, he despatched "two barks well furnished with men and victuals" under the command

of Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlowe, with Simon Fernando, a seafaring Portuguese of uncertain reputation as pilot. Sailing southward to the Canaries and thence to the West Indies, they approached the American coast from the southeast, searching for a place suitable for the new settlement. Somewhere about Cape Lookout, they must have smelled that "sweet and strong smell, as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinds of odiferous flowers," of which Barlowe wrote to Sir Walter, and thus they missed three excellent opportunities for a landing at Beaufort, Charleston, and the Cape Fear. Coasting along the harborless sandbars northward, they finally entered one of the shallow and narrow inlets and took possession of the first land that greeted them, the island, as it proved, of Roanoke. After engaging in various tours of exploration and learning much about aboriginal life and habits, they departed in haste, having had little time in which to make more than a cursory examination of the region, and returned to England, reaching there in September. They had been gone nine months and had traversed nearly ten thousand miles.

Their home-coming and the narrative which Barlowe furnished of their experiences, embellished probably by Raleigh in order to add to its alluring qualities, made something of a sensation at Westminster, partly because of the novelty of the voyage and partly because it had been promoted by a courtier who was rapidly rising to the summit of the queen's favor. Elizabeth manifested her pleasure by naming the new country "Virginia," granting Raleigh the honor of knighthood, and further increasing his resources and influence. He was on the flood-tide of prosperity and everything seemed to contribute to his success. He became a member of parliament from Devonshire, was appointed warden of the stannaries, and received large addition of land from forfeited estates in England and Ireland. Thus favored and with the breath of the sea ever in his nostrils, he planned a second voyage across the waters. A colony in America promised to be the outcome of his efforts.

The new expedition represented to a remarkable degree the two-fold motive that governed in all their western undertakings the men of Elizabethan England. Mingled with the desire to attack Spain and to occupy territory which she claimed was the hope of extending as far south as possible England's hold on the lands of the New World. To effect these ends Raleigh selected as the leader of the new venture Sir Richard Grenville and peopled his seven ships with an unusually strong body of men—gentlemen and others—more than a hundred in number—all of whom he despatched from Plymouth on April 9, 1585. As might have been

expected from the man whose desperate fight in the *Revenge,* six years later, is a famous incident in Elizabethan history, Grenville succeeded in both parts of his undertaking. He seized Spanish frigates laden with goods and rich freights and likewise divers Spaniards whom he afterward ransomed for good round sums, and he deposited Master Ralph Lane with one hundred and seven captains, gentlemen, and commoners on Roanoke island, which Lane in his letter to Hakluyt declared to be "the goodliest and most pleasing territory of the world," where the people were "most courteous and very desirous to have clothes."

Though these settlers remained on the island for a year and explored the adjacent lands and waters for a circuit of many miles, north, west, and south, this first of Raleigh's colonizing experiments failed. Lane did not possess the tenacity and force of will which later enabled John Smith to hold together the Jamestown settlement. Despite his first impressions, he was disquieted because he could find neither gold mines nor a passage to the South Sea, and he soon became convinced that the island and its neighborhood were unfit for permanent settlement because they possessed no satisfactory harbor. Hunger and troubles with the Indians weakened the spirits of these first colonists and fearing lest help should not reach them from England, they seized the opportunity accidentally offered by the arrival of Drake off the coast to embark for home. Later Grenville returned with supplies and left fifteen men upon the island in order to retain possession, but these also eventually disappeared, having been killed by the Indians or drowned while attempting to leave the island. Thus ended a hopeful experiment; not a colony in the later sense of the word, but the most considerable settlement of Englishmen in America that the world had thus far seen.

Though this first endeavor had come to nothing, Raleigh was not to be turned from his purpose, and for the moment at least was determined to persevere. He bore among his many titles that of "Lord and Governor of Virginia" and it was his duty to make his title and patent good. Moreover, without colonists his great domain in America would be of no value, and if it remained of no value after so promising a beginning the queen's displeasure, which he could not afford to incur, would certainly be vented upon him. Therefore he gathered his resources together for a new enterprise, which was destined to mark the first attempt to establish on American soil a colony possessing within itself the rudiments of independent life and government, and so to anticipate that successful colonizing movement, which at a later time was to establish a new and living England within the frontier of the West.

In three important respects was Raleigh's second venture an advance upon the first. In the first place, it represented a different combination

of colonists. Instead of men of the rough and ready, adventurous type, Raleigh sent men, women, and children, seemingly of a more domestic, peace-loving sort, thus for the first time assuring to the settlement a continuity of family life, without which even the best equipped of communities is bound to remain always an artificial, inorganic group of individuals. Of the one hundred and seventeen persons who sailed in the three ships provided for them, seventeen were women and nine children, some of tender age. It is a pity that we do not know more of the circumstances under which this company was brought together or how it was that seventeen women—two with children yet unborn, the first of their sex to cross the Atlantic from England, were induced to make this perilous voyage. Probably John White, the leader whom Raleigh selected, was the responsible agent in the matter.

In the second place, Raleigh organized a definite form of government, by appointing the same John White deputy governor under himself as chief, with twelve others—all from the class of gentlemen—as assistants and advisers in council. There is ample reason, also, to believe that he drew up a body of instructions, stating in detail the conditions under which government was to be carried on. Unfortunately these instructions have not been preserved, but as they concerned the government of the "City of Raleigh in Virginia" it is likely that they were designed to reproduce, in a measure, the borough organization of England, a type essentially different from the military system which Gilbert had attempted to apply in Newfoundland and which Lane had enforced in his first settlement at Roanoke. Though there is nothing to show that Raleigh had in mind anything that may be likened to popular management of affairs, he did provide for something that promised to be permanent and that might in time have taken on a popular form.

Lastly, Raleigh charged White to find for the colony a better place than Roanoke island had shown itself to be, and acting probably on the information which Lane had furnished and on the advice of Hakluyt, who in December, 1586, had written him a letter to that effect, instructed White to follow the coast northward to Chesapeake Bay and there to find a satisfactory site for the city and fort which he wished to become the nucleus of his new propriety.

Had Raleigh's plans been as successfully carried out as they were wisely framed, we might have a different tale to tell of the issue of the enterprise. Perhaps if he himself could have led the colony across the waters, sharing its hardships, directing its activities, and exercising his prerogatives as governor-in-chief, he would have won imperishable renown as the founder of the first English colony in the New World. But this was not to be. He could not leave England, where he was entangled

in the meshes of the queen's favor; burdened with the responsibilities of the wardenship of the stannaries and the vice-admiral judgeship of the west; involved in land schemes in Ireland; and bound to his post as member of parliament. He was dabbling in too many things, was concerned with too many ventures, and was trying in too many ways to combine gallantry with business to give adequate personal attention to his interests across the sea. In consequence, his colony went its own way to its own undoing.

Nor were all those whom Raleigh selected to aid him in his colonial plans gifted with the qualities of wise and constructive leadership. Grenville had shown himself hot-headed, impatient, and rash; Lane, though energetic and resourceful and not lacking in valor, became convinced of the unsuitableness of the place, could find neither gold nor passageways to the South Sea, and fearful of privation and suffering had early become discouraged; and finally White, deficient in executive ability and firmness of will, allowed himself to be overruled at critical junctures, and displayed bad judgment in returning to England a month after his arrival, leaving the colony without a head. Contrary to Raleigh's express command, the landing was made at Roanoke, which was no fit place for a colony or even for continuous habitation, while the storms of Hatteras were a menace to sailing vessels and gave to the coast an evil reputation among sailors. According to White's tale, this initial blunder was due to Simon Fernando, the pilot, who by refusing to land them in any other place than Roanoke prevented the colonists from going to the Chesapeake, but whether Simon was the real villain of the play, a great villain or a small villain or a villain at all, we do not certainly know. The charge is White's and White had some need to exculpate himself.

A more convincing cause of failure was the lack of supplies from England. The landing was made in July, 1587; in August White debarked, and not for four years, until August, 1591, did he see again the spot where he had left his company, including his own daughter, the mother of the first English child born in America. No colony at this early period could have held out against such neglect. Had the little group of men at Jamestown received from home no supplies whatever between 1607 and 1611, it would have required more than the efforts of John Smith or any one else to have kept them alive. Even as it was with two shiploads of supplies arriving and new colonists being added to their number, the Jamestown settlers were reduced by half and were on the eve of returning when they were saved by the arrival of Delaware and his ships in 1610. Starvation was the arch-enemy of the early colonists. Those of Popham in 1607 and of Robert

Gorges in 1623 were driven back to England by fear of starvation, and both Jamestown and Plymouth had their starving times.

But why were supplies not forthcoming? It may be, as has been suggested by Mr. Ballinger in his address before this society, that captains and sailors were afraid of the coast and could not be persuaded to go there, even on so humane an errand. I am not sure that the argument is convincing. The ships that reached Roanoke, those of Amadas and Barlowe, Lane, Drake, Grenville, and White, seem to have had no serious difficulty in making their way, and there is nothing to show that those which were sent to the rescue, five times between 1588 and 1602, failed in their mission because of storms and danger from shipwreck. Grenville's voyage of 1588 was drawn off on a prize hunt for Spanish ships; that of White in 1591 was also delayed by a search for plunder; while the three that followed took the Southern route and "performed nothing," some following "their own profit elsewhere" and others returning "with frivolous allegations." That of 1602, under Samuel Mace, "a very sufficient mariner and honest, sober man, who had been twice before in Virginia," was deterred, it is true, by fear of shipwreck, but only because his ship had already suffered damage. Even Raleigh himself, who in 1595 went in person on his first expedition to Guiana, to seek a new realm for his queen and to pour into her lap the golden fruit of the Indies, seems never to have dreamed of turning aside to discover the whereabouts of his lost settlers. It is difficult to believe that the seamen of Elizabeth's day were deterred from a work of rescue by fear or timidity or were possessed of a spirit so at variance with the traditions of the British race. It was not the fear of shipwreck that sacrificed the colonists of Roanoke, but the terrible allurement of wealth and the no less terrible hatred of the Spaniards, "that cruel and insolent nation," that "nation of ravenous straungers which more greedily thirst after English bloud than after the lives of anie other people of Europe."

The simple truth is that the chivalrous attempts which Gilbert and Raleigh made to plant colonies in the New World were inopportune and premature. They represented an idea for which the time had not yet come. England before the age of Elizabeth had been too poor to indulge in colonization and too weak to risk the encounter with Spain. Victory over the hated enemy had first to be won before colonization could be successfully undertaken. The passion that stirred men's souls was not a desire for peaceful expansion; it was a warlike zeal born of the indignation that men felt because of the "bloudy and injurious designs of the Spaniards," "purposed and practiced against all Christian princes, over whom they seek unlawful and ungodly rule and

empery." During the years from 1580 to 1596 this passion was at its height, and until its intensity were relieved by the breaking of the Spanish power, successful colonization was impossible. During these years every expedition that set forth from English shores took on a semi-piratical form, seeking booty, capturing ships, or otherwise wreaking a Crusader's vengeance on the despoilers of the world's peace. The very ships that had been sent to rescue the lost colonists felt it a part of their stern but patriotic duty to "spoil the Egyptians," even while pursuing their errand of mercy. Making war with Spain and not the planting of colonies was the motive determining the direction of Elizabethan activities, and for seventy years after the Armada, even while successful colonization was well under way, this war was relentlessly pursued, not by kings but by adventurous captains, merchants, and trading companies, as a well defined part of the parliamentary and Puritan policy, until the menace of Spanish supremacy was removed and England obtained a permanent hold upon some of the richest parts of the declining Spanish empire.

Even if the spirit of the time had been favorable to colonization, it is doubtful if Raleigh would ever have appreciated or understood the difficulties of the problem that confronted him or envisaged the part that colonies were to play in England's imperial career. One function of a colony, he believed, was to serve as a weapon wherewith to humble the pretensions of Spain and to press the claims of England to a part of the world that Spain was appropriating to herself. It is true that later he beheld, as in a vision, the planting of a new England in the West, when he wrote to Robert Cecil, just before his ruin, "I shall yet live to see it an Inglishe nation," but it is hard to reconcile his words with his own efforts wasted in trying to find in Guiana the mines of Manoa or with his persistent pursuit of the golden quarry of Spain. It may be that an adequate explanation lies not only in his great enmity for Spain but also in the tragedy of his own career and shattered fortunes, and that had circumstances been otherwise he might have carried his colonizing plans to completion. But the fact remains that despite the magnanimity and courage with which for the time being he pursued his self-appointed task, he was never sufficiently tenacious of purpose to follow any scheme, colonizing or other, to the end which success demanded. His activity took on a myriad of forms, in which a craving for fame and publicity was a ruling influence. He was never imbued with the loftiness of design or the singleness of resolve that characterized the efforts of Calvert or Penn, or even of Shaftesbury, and as later events were to show the transplanting and successful rooting of a colony in America demanded something more than the equipping of

ships and the transporting of colonists. It required the religious zeal of the Pilgrims and Puritans, the continuous and persistent efforts of the Calverts, the Penns, and the Carolina proprietors, and the wealth and organized coöperation of the capitalistic classes of England. When compared with the settlements of New England, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and the Carolinas, Raleigh's experiments in colonization seem but half-hearted endeavors, in which both skill and material were lacking.

I have spoken of the wealth and organized coöperation of the capitalistic classes of England as a factor in colonization. The subject is important as disclosing another aspect of the situation in Raleigh's time to which attention must be directed, for without the resources of accumulated wealth neither courage, persistence, nor religious zeal could have been of much avail. The resources of the men of the old landed classes, who were dependent for their support on the proceeds of their feudal possessions, were wholly inadequate to meet the expense of promoting Western settlement. To colonize America required the support not merely of those who were lords of the soil, wage earners of the towns, and tenants on the manorial estates; it required also the active participation of the rich bourgeoisie, a class hardly existent at the beginning of the Tudor period, but now rapidly rising into political and commercial importance, ready to invest their reserves of capital in various forms of profit-bearing enterprise. Hitherto they had spent their wealth in acquiring landed properties in England, outfitting ships for piratical ventures against the Spaniards, and organizing companies for the prosecution of trade and commerce—companies that had operated chiefly in old and settled countries, along the Mediterranean, the North Sea, and the Baltic, where trade, not land or colonies, was the object. But up to this time they had not been impressed with the importance of colonization in the New World as offering opportunities for profitable investment.

Both Gilbert and Raleigh recognized the growing influence of this moneyed class and endeavored to enlist its aid in furthering their undertakings. In a measure Gilbert was successful, though he obtained his chief support from gentlemen of his own rank. Raleigh depended on his own resources, until in 1589, two years after the failure of his last expedition, apparently realizing that his own career as a colonizer was at an end, he made over some of the privileges of his patent to nineteen merchants of London, organized as a voluntary association for the purpose of furnishing merchandise, munitions, victuals, and other commodities, in exchange for rights of trade and other perquisites. Hoping to gain their coöperation in carrying on what he had already accomplished,

he gave them £100, admitted them to the freedom of his "city of Raleigh," granted them "free trade and traffic for all manner of merchandize or commodities whatever" in his seigniory of Virginia, and promised to obtain for them, if he could, legal incorporation as a trading company under royal letters patent. But there is no evidence to show that the merchants were ever incorporated or attempted to act in any way under the agreement.

The time for a trading company to take the lead in colonizing America had not come, but it is a significant fact that some of those to whom Raleigh turned as coöperators in his enterprise became members of the Virginia Company of London, chartered in 1606, under whose auspices Jamestown was settled. Knowledge of America and interest in its development grew rapidly in these intervening years and we are probably justified in considering Raleigh's association of merchants as the forerunner, if not the nucleus, of the greater company to come. At any rate that group of men, recruited largely from the middle class and representative of a new ideal of national progress, free from the traditions and prejudices of the feudal lords, marks the beginning of a new era of colonizing activity. The interest which the merchants took at this time reached its climax in the seventeenth century, when between 1606 and 1670 a series of great trading companies was organized for the purpose of utilizing the resources of the New World from Hudson Bay to the Amazon. It foreshadowed likewise the conspicuous part which the mercantile class was to play in shaping the relations between the colonists and the mother country in the eighteenth century, when the prosperity of the merchants and the promotion of colonial trade became the leading influences determining England's colonial policy. Raleigh saw the value of middle class support and anticipated that combination of capital, commerce, and the colonies which was to become the mainspring of England's colonial and commercial greatness; but he saw it as a hope rather than a fulfillment, for not until the next century was capital ready to face the colonial problem. Raleigh lived to see the dawn of the new day, but at that time his own active interest in colonization had passed away forever. Though Raleigh foresaw, as with the eye of a prophet, the importance of the New World as a land not of gold but of living men; though he appreciated the value of permanent settlements inhabited by people cultivating the soil, and producing raw materials for the benefit of the mother country; and though he forecast one phase of England's future when he wrote, "He that rules the sea, rules the commerce of the world, and to him that rules the commerce of the world belongs the treasure of the world and indeed the world itself," nevertheless he could conjure up no vision of the political desti-

nies of America or of the democracy and popular self-government that were to be. He was himself an aristocrat, a member of the small landed class of the feudal type, and he was hedged in by all the sympathies and limitations of his order. The nation that he pictured in America was modeled on the English nation that he knew, a nation in which institutional life was still feudal and in which social, industrial, and tenurial relations were shot through and through with the ideas and practices of class and caste. He was no utopian, as was Sir Thomas More, no religious and political radical, as was the Puritan, no reformer even, as was the parliamentarian under the Stuarts. His England was manorial England and his America would have been a manorial America likewise. He never conceived of conditions in political and social life that were other than those of which he had learned from the past or with which he was familiar as one who had lived in England during the reign of Elizabeth.

It is singular that in his writings upon government, such as the *Maxims of State,* the *Cabinet-Council,* and the *Prerogative of Parliaments,* Raleigh should have made no reference to a political future similar to that which he foretold on the commercial side. Though he discoursed at length on the rules and axioms of a "popular state," talked about democracies, "where all the people have power and authority-sovereign," and believed that "in every just state some part of the government ought to be imparted to the people," he never advanced in political thought beyond the practices of the government under which he lived and in which, as a member of parliament, he took his part. The patent that he obtained from his queen, like that which Gilbert had obtained before him, created a great feudal estate in America, a proprietary domain or seigniory, of which he was to be the absolute lord and governor-in-chief. To him as lord, his colonists were to owe homage and fealty, rents and payments, suits and services, and all those other incidents of tenure that characterized manorial lordship in the England of his time. To him as governor, acting either directly or through the deputy governor and council whom he appointed to serve in the colony, was entrusted the law-making powers, without restraint, as long as the laws were not contrary to those of England. In his mind, the "great city of Raleigh" was probably intended to be, as nearly as conditions would allow, similar in its organization to an English borough on a seigniorial demesne, subject to the higher authority of himself as lord, and dependent on him and his successors for all its rights and privileges. To him a colony was not a state but a feudal palatinate.

Though we know nothing in detail of what Raleigh wished his colony to be, these essential particulars are enough to show that he

stands with Gilbert as the first of that long line of English and Scottish noblemen who desired to reproduce in the New World the institutions of their order and to colonize America after the feudal plan. Gorges, Stirling, Calvert, the Carolina proprietors, and even Penn himself, are among those who sought proprietary domains in America, wherein to enforce some at least of the seigniorial practices of England. Raleigh's ideas, as far as we know what they were, were similar to those which Shaftesbury and Locke worked out for the Carolina settlements nearly a century later. Whether Raleigh would have been as determined as were the Carolina proprietors to force their scheme on the unwilling colonists we cannot say, but it is at least safe to conclude that in the end his fate would have been the same as their's and that his seigniory would have developed, as did that of the Calverts in Maryland, into a self-governing colony. Feudal institutions in a frontier country made no appeal to transplanted Englishmen and in all cases in America gave way gradually but none the less completely to the influence of an unfavorable environment and the popular demand for free institutions and a share in government. Probably he who could write "The people therefore in these latter ages are no less to be pleased than the peers" and "the power of the nobility now being withered and the power of the people in the flower the care to content them would not be neglected" would have done nothing to hinder the process.

Such is the place which Raleigh occupies in the history of American colonization. He was more than an heroic figure in an heroic age. He was more than an Elizabethan courtier possessed of versatility, ambition, and love of action. He was the first to demonstrate the practicability of transporting English men and women overseas to find new homes on a new soil. His colony of husbands and wives, mothers and nursing children, in which births took place, baptisms were performed, letters written, and tokens sent, where peaceful industry prevailed and order reigned, represents a new departure in English history, a type of colonizing community hitherto unknown to Englishmen, a sign of good omen amid the warlike and lawless annals of the time. The experiment was premature and never received the test of continuance, but it was planned in the spirit of wisdom and its failure was the failure of circumstance. Just how much it contributed to the later and successful enterprise we may not conjecture, but it is difficult to believe that its lessons were forgotten by those who renewed the experiment twenty years later. The efforts of Gilbert and Raleigh and the Virginia company of London seem to follow each other as related parts of a common movement. The city of Raleigh was in very truth the forerunner of the city of James, and had the settlement at Roanoke survived the

blows of an unkindly fortune it might have achieved fame as the oldest of the many plantations of Englishmen in the Western world, from which has sprung the United States of America.

But in the last analysis, Raleigh is to us more than a colonizer; he stands as the representative of a great union, the union of the English-speaking peoples. He was the first Englishman to identify himself with English life on American soil and so to become a part of the life of both nations. He typifies in a remote age and under other circumstances that relationship between England and America, which under many guises—colonial subjection, war and enmity, and a century of peace—has at last become a bond of fraternal understanding and intellectual companionship.

There is a singular likeness between the England of Raleigh's day and the America of the present. Under Elizabeth England was rising to the status of a nation and, throwing off her insularity, was preparing to play her part, as America is now doing, in the affairs of a larger world. The boy, Walter, sitting on the beach at Budleigh Salverton and hearing as in an ectasy the call to overseas adventure is paralleled by the thousands of young Americans crossing these same seas to share in the adventure of a World War in lands to many almost as unknown as was America to the young Elizabethan; while the Spanish autocracy and power were to the Englishman of that day as hated and feared as ever has been the German autocracy and military might to American or ally in the past four years. Raleigh's words against Spain might well have been written against the Germany that we have known too well. "It is a marvell," he wrote, "that the Spaniards should seeke by false and slandrous pamphlets, advisoes, and letters to cover their own losse and to derogate from others their due honours." "Thus it hath pleased God to fight for us and to defend the justice of our cause against the ambicious and bloudy pretences of the Spaniards, who seeking to devour all nations are themselves devoured."

Thus under Raleigh's guidance and in circumstances that have some striking points of similarity with those of the present was the first living connection made between England and America. Since that time, three centuries and more ago, England, the mother, has grown from a small kingdom into a world power and America, the child, has risen from infancy to a manhood possessed of marvellous strength and resources. Side by side, during the past year, have these two nations fought in defence of common ideals of humanity and government, ideals derived from a common source, and upheld by a common will and tenacity of purpose. Through the exigencies of time and events, and despite organized opposition and hostile propaganda, there has come

into existence an Anglo-American fraternity, committed to the maintenance of political liberty, high standards of social justice, and a permanent peace. This unity of English-speaking peoples of the world, foreshadowed in Raleigh's efforts at colonization and finally consummated in battle with the German colossus, is the surest guarantee that we have today of the preservation of the ideals for which the war against brute force and military autocracy is now being fought and won.

England and the Birth of the American Nation

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The date of a daugter's birth is ordinarily a time of joy for a mother, and, on the recurring anniversaries, the pains of travail are forgotten in the parental satisfaction that another woman is growing up to share her life. On these occasions the mother is increasingly glad that she endured the pain and gave of herself in order that the child might be born; the daughter, at the same time, becomes more keenly conscious of her indebtedness to the one who has made her existence possible and who has inspired her youth. This happens constantly in ordinary life, and we accept it as a part of the natural order of things; when the case is different, we conclude that the conditions are abnormal.

In the last years of the eighteenth century a new English nation was born. The mother had taken every reasonable precaution for the protection of the child in the prenatal period; the birth throes were lacking in unusual severety for either mother or child. Nevertheless, the mother and daughter became estranged as a result of the pains attending the birth and have never become entirely reconciled. What is the explanation of this unnatural state of affairs? This paper is an attempt to suggest a part of the answer to that question. Perhaps nothing will be said that is new. The only excuse for saying it at all is the imperative necessity that mother and daughter come together more intimately in this time of stress and difficulty in order to perform a common task.

Perhaps it is as well to understand in the outset that a child is not the issue of a single parent. The young American nation is the eldest daughter of the marriage of her mother, England, to the primeval American continent, a spouse of the cave man variety, unconventional and domineering. From the very time when she was first conscious of the existence of the new life, the mother began to cherish dreams for her offspring based on the prevailing conventions of the time and to have definite expectations and plans for this child to whom she was giving so largely of her own life. The trouble about these hopes was, the infant also had in its veins the blood of a rugged father, accustomed to the freedom of broad valleys, impatient of the restraints to which the mother's people had habitually submitted, and possessed of many primitive characteristics acquired by hard experience in dense forests and wild solitudes.

All too soon after the birth of the daughter, indeed almost at the very date itself, the father and mother were estranged and the child by force

of circumstances and by the arbitrament of war was entrusted to the father. In consequence, she became alienated from her mother and increasingly more in sympathy with the parent to whom she looked for daily inspiration. Not until comparatively recent years has she learned to know her mother better and to appreciate that the trouble between her parents in the beginning was a lack of sympathetic understanding and little deliberate intention to hurt on either side. This paper will have accomplished its purpose if it states in simple terms some of the reasons for this misunderstanding.

But if we are to make progress in that direction perhaps we would better come immediately to the point. One of the fundamental difficulties was that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries England herself had by no means reached her full stature as a nation. This very marriage with America was undertaken purely as an experiment for the purpose of expanding and enriching the national life of the mother country and with no conscious expectation whatever that a daughter nation would be born who would in the course of time develop individual peculiarities and demand a large share of independent action. Being in the period of her own youth and busy with the problems of her own life, England, like many another young mother who has found herself about to have a child which she has not purposed or foreseen, pursued her accustomed method of ordering the family affairs purely as her own personal interests and inclinations seemed to dictate. The natural outcome at the birth of the child, we have seen. Since that time, the same mother has given birth to other children, one of them from the same marriage, and has retained their affection to a remarkable degree. But the eldest sister has remained outside the family circle.

We must escape from this figure, however, if we are to make progress with the discussion in an orthodox fashion. The point in all that has been said is trite and obvious, and yet its neglect is the source of much of the misunderstanding of the American Revolution that survives in most of our school histories even to this day. To put it in simple terms, there were two sides to the quarrel that led to American independence, and few of the things on either side can be classed as wholly right or wrong. The conclusion depends largely on whether you approach the question from the point of view of a loyal Englishman or of a patriotic Colonial.

Englishmen naturally remembered that the colonies had been established by the expenditure of much English treasure and effort for the avowed purpose of enriching the economic life of the mother country. What other sort of compensation could be expected for all they had cost from the date of their foundation through the wars and other enterprises necessary to insure their growth and to defend them from hostile

neighbors? Would it not have been absurd for England to be at so great expense to have colonies and then to leave other nations free to exploit them on equal terms with herself? The Navigation Acts, from their incipiency to their furthest ramification, therefore, were a natural outgrowth of the very purposes for which the colonies had been established and defended. Furthermore, it was just as natural that the mother country should not wish the colonies themselves to become her rivals in the commercial world instead of adding to her strength by supplying raw materials and serving as a market for her products. Consequently, from the point of view of England, the laws limiting the industries of the colonies were as essential to a well ordered colonial policy as were the Navigation Acts themselves.

All of these laws were inherent in the very principle that had led to the establishment of the colonies. But for more than a century after the foundation of the colonies the young mother nation herself was struggling for existence against the efforts of a foreign dynasty to enthrall her in the bonds of absolutism. As a result, through the period of the Puritan and English Revolutions and the Stuart uprising of the first half of the eighteenth century, the colonies were left largely to their own devices. In the same period and afterwards they had constantly to be defended from hostile natives and from rivals ambitious to possess them. Not until after 1763 was the mother country in a position to reap what she naturally regarded as the legitimate returns on her large investments in treasure and effort. It is easy to understand her surprise when she found that instead of the anticipated profitable servant she had nurtured at so great pains a rebellious child who now ungratefully declined to perform the tasks imposed.

This notion that the colonies existed primarily for the profit of the mother country was fundamental in the minds of British statesmen, even of those who framed the policies that culminated in the American Revolution. It was stated succinctly by a memorialist in the year the Seven Years War ended: "The British colonies are to be regarded in no other light, but as subservient to the commerce of their mother country; the colonists are merely factors for the purposes of trade, and in all considerations concerning the colonies, this must be always the leading idea." Even the elder Pitt, the supposed friend of the colonies, said in his famous speech on the Stamp Act, "that if the Americans should manufacture a lock of wool or a horseshoe, he would fill their ports with ships and their towns with troops."

Naturally, the mother country did not expect the colonies to submit to these conditions without reciprocal favors. And so everybody in Great Britain who needed these products was obliged to smoke Colonial

tobacco, to eat Colonial sugar, and to use Colonial tar. "I perfectly agree with you," wrote George Grenville, "that we ought to take our materials for our manufactures from our colonies, although we should pay higher prices for them or be obliged to reduce the price of them to our manufacturers by bounties."

The Seven Years War, with the resulting acquisition of Canada, and the Indian wars that followed immediately thereafter, made it imperative that Great Britain devise some means of imperial defense in America. An unsuccessful attempt had been made in 1754 to induce the colonies to unite and organize machinery of their own for this purpose. Moreover, in the course of the war with France the colonies had been slow in doing their share, and some of them had fallen short of their obligations. It was clear, therefore, that the mother country herself would have to do whatever was to be done. It was equally as clear that it was the plain duty of the colonies to bear a part of the financial burden which the defensive machinery would entail. Indeed, most of the thoughtful Colonials recognized the force of this obligation.

But at the time they were framing acts for collecting the share of the colonies in these expenses, the home authorities were also seeking to devise machinery to enforce the fundamental laws on which the Colonial system itself rested. Admiralty courts were set up in the colonies and customs officials were sent from home, much to the vexation of the Colonial traders, since they interfered seriously with the illegal trade of the Colonials with countries outside of the British empire. The passage of the Stamp Act under these circumstances stirred the latent dissatisfaction of the people, and the discontent spread until it included almost all the important regulations embraced in the Colonial system.

Nobody will accuse the English statesmen responsible for the Colonial policies of the next few years of displaying an overabundance of tact or insight. This apparent stupidity resulted in part from the uncertain political conditions at home. The British national spirit, which had cast off its swaddling clothes in the time of the Tudors and had been strong enough to resist the attempts of the first James and first Charles to destroy it, flaming forth triumphantly in the Puritan Revolution and later making its will a part of English law in the Bill of Rights, had found little to resist it under the first two Georges except the threat of the return of the Stuarts. But George III, tutored by a kinsman of the house of Stuart, was now seeking to curb this independent nationalism and to make the dynasty a stronger force in the government of the kingdom. From 1760 to the end of the century this struggle of the king and all the friends he could muster or buy against the ruling group, descended from the families that had made good the independence of the

nation from the Stuarts, continued; other matters took a subordinate place as long as this fundamental question was to the fore.

Now it happened that the crisis with the colonies came at the very time when the struggles of the national leaders against the king was at its height. Little wonder new matters of Colonial administration were neglected, however pressing the need that they be given attention. When the factions at home did give them momentary consideration, it is obvious that no consistent policy would be framed, and so things were allowed to drift after the attempt to enforce the imperial system at the close of the French War. The measures actually adopted depended on the particular person or faction in authority at the time and were for the most part purely opportunist in character. As a result of this struggle at home, therefore, and so as an incident in the fight of the mother nation for her own continued freedom from absolutism, a new daughter nation was born before its full time.

Not that the contagion of the spirit of freedom in the colonies inspired the British nationalists to any considerable degree, as is sometimes supposed. The point is merely that the struggle of the Whigs and their supporters against the king at home made the mother country helpless when the colonies won the help of France in their war for independence, as it it had played no small part in promoting the conditions that made the agitation for independence possible. Our Revolutionary forefathers took advantage of the fact that the English nation was fighting its third and last round against absolutist kings to embark on an independent community life on their own account. However, the new infant nation displayed as yet few signs of actual national consciousness.

From the point of view of the mother country, little had been done that ought to have alienated the colonies, and we can easily understand the state of mind of the British people who felt that the rebellion was indefensible and ought to be suppressed at whatever cost. It was like a blow in a time of danger coming from one's own household. Even those who in the exigencies of home politics espoused the cause of the colonies were unable to support their demand for independence until the incompetence of the British ministers made it clear that the subjugation of the rebels would, if accomplished at all, cost more than it would be worth. The plain fact is, that the rebellion of the colonies was unjustifiable when tried by the political theories then current in England. No taxation without representation, for example, was certainly not a shibboleth that could be understood by the aristocratic group who constituted the chief friends of the colonies at home. The mass of the

English people were at that time as little represented in Parliament as were the colonies. Tried by the Colonial standards, Parliament had no right to levy taxes on industrial towns like Birmingham, Sheffield, or Leeds.

No party in England upheld a treatment of the colonies that can fairly be termed tyrranical or even emphatically unjust when measured by the current notions of thoughtful Englishmen. The measures which led to the Revolution were but tardy and inefficient attempts to apply the orthodox principles of the Colonial system to a people who had too long been indulged and permitted to run wild. The threat from France existed no longer; the mother country had already assumed the chief burden of averting that danger. The trade and navigation laws had not been enforced, and the colonies had built up illegal industries on the assumption that they would never be. They were, therefore, in no mood to undertake their share of the burdens of defense or to submit to the reasonable expectations of the mother country under the Colonial system.

Of course there were many reasons why the Colonials were not in a mood to remain tributary to the mother country according to the orthodox manners of colonies. With the exception of the portion of the population who had been transported, the fact that people had left their old homes to build others in an unknown land proves that they were more than ordinarily venturesome. This characteristic was emphasized in some of them by the additional fact that they were moved to leave their old country because of their unwillingness to conform in matters of thought and religion. That is to say, in general the early settlers had some marked idiosyncracy either of personal or community life that urged them to seek surroundings where they would be less hindered by their more orthodox fellows.

The nature of the tasks that faced them when they reached the new land emphasized the tendency to individualism and to community particularism. The forests had to be cleared, the cabins built, the food procured, and the homes defended against the savages and wild beasts. Consequently the people learned to depend on themselves and to coöperate with their neighbors on a basis of equality in matters that could not be attended to individually. When the small measure of community life necessary became irksome, one could always shoulder his gun and either alone or with a group of his fellows similarly discontented plunge beyond the existing frontier further into the wilderness.

Of course the charters under which some of the colonies were settled gave a reasonably large opportunity for freedom of organization. But conditions in the new communities made it inevitable in any case that

a large measure of democracy of life should exist. Since the colonies were left largely to their own devices in the early decades of their history, it was equally inevitable that these democratic conditions should shape the character of the Colonial institutions even though those institutions should copy largely the form of organization in the political or religious communities from which the people had come. Chiefly for these reasons, "No taxation without representation" meant something different to a Colonial from what it meant to an Englishman. Little wonder the ruling class in the mother country never quite understood the point of view of the colonies.

In a like manner, we have little difficulty in understanding that a people who had in part crossed the Atlantic in search of a place where they could have a measure of independence of action and who had been for so long a time left out of leading strings would not again lightly submit to restraints. Their manner of life, as we have seen, had made them largely dependent on themselves, and they had grown accustomed to practices that an aplication of the policies of the mother country would interrupt. Like all men whose oxen are about to be gored, they easily found weighty arguments to suport their contention. It would have been difficult to reconcile them to the orthodox Colonial system in any case. But when the task was undertaken in a tactless manner by an inefficient government in the mother country it was foredoomed to failure.

The home government decided to insist by force of arms on the doctrines to which they had failed to win the colonies by peaceful means, and then shifted from one position to another in a manner that tended to increase rather than to lessen the discontent of the Colonials. The people of the colonies nursed and magnified each successive grievance, working it into resolutions, speeches, letters, and the like, and adding it to those that had gone before until they concluded that the storehouse was sufficiently filled to warrant the demand for independence. The feeling that they ought to remedy these common grievances brought together the particularistic communities that had been unwilling to unite for their common defense two decades before. And so a new national life began. The national consciousness was not yet sufficiently pronounced for one to be certain that it would survive, but it had at least come into being. A new English nation had been born, or, more correctly, an American nation had been born of an English mother.

Nobody was particularly to blame. As was suggested above, this infant nation, like so many children, came into existence without any premeditated purpose on the part of its parents. But, like every child, it owes to its mother a debt it can never repay. We might enumerate

its language and the inspiration for most of its institutions. But the achievement of independence so early in our history has tended to make us unwilling to acknowledge this indebtedness. Indeed, one cannot but conclude that many people who ought to know better are unaware of the very existence of this debt and reckon nothing of the common blood that runs in our veins and in the veins of our mother country.

But the time is at hand when those of us who do know the facts should spread the knowledge of them and should help to clear away the prejudices to which the early estrangement of the two nations has led. Neither party to the Revolutionary quarrel had a right to cast stones at the other, and neither did anything that deserves to be perpetuated at this date in a way that would come between two kindred peoples. Many times since 1776 Great Britain has forgotten our rebellion and has played the part of a magnanimous mother to us. Is it not high time that we learned more of a daughter's spirit? The world has had enough of national rivalry and hostility to last it for centuries. Cannot the United States and her mother nation set the other countries of the world an example of intimate coöperation so that at no distant date all the world may be welded into a family of nations? May we, indeed, not make every future Fourth of July a time of joyful acknowledgment of our debt to our mother country and of our gratitude for the bounties we received from her which enabled us to fashion a national life for ourselves?

The Converging Democracies of England and America

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As the greatest of all revolutions in history draws to a close it becomes plainer than ever before that the peoples of England and the United States are being placed under bond to work together for the common good. It is not so much a question of whether these peoples are better than others, but that by a sort of historic evolution they have become identified with the same great ideals. They have learned through centuries of struggle and bloodshed how to govern themselves with less of convulsive change than others; they have grown in numbers and spread over the earth until they are perhaps twice as numerous as any of the other Western races; they have become more democratic than any of the others; and they give promise of becoming Christian and humane in their dealing with the backward peoples of the earth.

I put it thus not because I wish to disparage the French or even the Germans as races, but because the facts seem to me incontrovertible. The English speaking peoples have undoubtedly the responsibility in the future of leading the rest of mankind and they have shown that their ways are more peaceful than those of their greatest rivals. And there can be no doubt that the world means to get on in the future without wars. If men can only learn to govern themselves the ideal is almost certain to be realized.

Govern themselves! That is a very simple thing to conceive. Its realization has been the greatest task of all history. Peoples begin simply. They, as a rule, govern themselves rudely and simply. But progress comes and progress means increased wealth and more cultivated men. But wealthy and cultivated men oppose the democracy and equality of primitive society. Thus a law of progress seems to posit a struggle between the more and the less successful groups over the division of the fruits of the common toil. The victors set themselves up to govern the rest either by sheer force, as in Germany, or by carefully contrived laws, as in the United States.

But this government of the so-called better classes, the wealthy and the educated, has for centuries been disputed and frequently overturned in Anglo-Saxon countries. In England kings have had their heads chopped off: they have been banished again and again; and great and arbitrary ministers have paid similar penalties. In almost all of these encounters, it was a struggle of common men to get control of affairs, lay and collect the common taxes and regulate their economic life so

that poor men might have a better chance. It is significant that Germans have not beheaded their kings nor driven their ministers to the gallows. Even in the great religious reformation, they submitted their consciences to temporal princes, poor and dissolute princes too[1]. They later submitted to the cajolery and downright deceptions of Bismarck, their greatest ruler, without murmur. Americans and Englishmen have never submitted thus—they have been a most factious and disrespectful race; they have always been in the midst of stirring reform or safe and sane reactions.

At the present time English speaking peoples are engaged in one of their great democratic revivals. Their unending struggle for more of human equality is now at its very climax; and conversely their complacent groups who always consider themselves better than others are on the retrograde. It was in one of these bitter conflicts of social and economic classes that our American Revolution was set up; it is now in a great world conflict of the same character that Englishmen and Americans forget the war of 1776 and stand in France side by side fighting as never Englishmen or Americans fought before.

It is not an idle boast to say that but for stubborn English resistance in Napoleon's time, the world must have fallen a victim to a dreary, world-wide autocracy; and without the intervention of the American people in the present war an even darker and more hopeless submission to a world autocracy must have ensued. If our race has twice saved the world from social and political eclipse, how dear ought our sundered groups to appear to each other.

But we have not been very close to each other. Somehow we have learned to irritate each other. An Englishman has a very absurd accent which seems to have been assumed since the great Shakespeare taught us our speech just to cross the Americans. Then Englishmen have a swaggering gait that spells self-satisfaction and the Americans do not like to see even their cousins too well satisfied. And Englishmen love lords and bishops with an ardor and affection which Americans cannot understand. We do not see that our speech, albeit wonderfully like that of the great Queen Elizabeth, sounds new and fresh to their ears; that our ready-made clothes look very absurd to them because they make us all look alike; and that our colonels and bosses are in quite as bad taste as their church dignitaries. These may seem to be very insignificant things. They are in fact very real obstacles to a good fellowship. An American would rather try to learn French than to adjust himself to the English pronunciation of advance, which is "advaunce"; or to Pall Mall, which is "pole mole."

[1]The English submitted to a Henry VIII, but their leading writers have always been ashamed of him. Not so with German historians of dissolute princes.

We did not break our friendly ties in 1776 about these things, but having broken them, they are bars to the best of understanding. What we really fought about in 1776 was a vital matter, quite as vital to the English as to ourselves. It must indeed be a stubborn Englishman who does not today recognize that Patrick Henry and Samuel Adams were better Britons than Lord North or any of the party of the king's friends. We do not understand the long quarrel about the stamp tax, the writs of assistance and the precious tea, if we do not see that there had arisen in England, mainly in London, an oligarchy of wealthy traders who had managed to get within their grasp practically all the powers of the British commonwealth. They led the king captive, they composed the house of lords and they bought and sold the house of commons like the Germans have endeavored to buy and sell peoples from sovereignty to sovereignty. The directors of the India and Fur companies, merchant princes, and the owners of the vast fleets that carried the commerce of the world were as much the enemies of the British people as they were of the Southern tobacco growers or the New England rum traders.

Then men who reaped the great harvests of the wide-flung British empire forgot that it had been the British people and, to a great extent, the colonists of North America that had defeated French monarchs and driven Spain off the ocean; they thought the fruits of wars and the rich commerce of the whole world belonged to the merchants of London and Liverpool. And to continue the certainty of their hold upon parliament, they deliberately bought its membership; they became owners of country estates and so, on occasion, entered the house of lords. When both houses were fairly safe in their possession, they captured the king himself. The British empire of 1776 was little better than the preserves of a commercial oligarchy. Provincial towns had no voice in affairs and the people were almost entirely without the suffrage. Magna carta and the famous bill of rights were of little avail. More men voted in the sparsely settled North American colonies than in all the realm of Great Britain.

It was against this and not against the ancient and beloved constitution that the Americans fought. On this side the Atlantic, wealth was far more equitably distributed, every man that would might acquire property enough to vote and representation was not wholly unequal. In the wilderness of North America, the principles of the ancient British constitution prevailed and it was to preserve the ancient and substantial equality of men that Sam Adams and Franklin and Jefferson led the way to war. The best men in England saw that the colonists were fighting for the best interests of the British people, although neither Burke,

nor Camden nor Chatham, had any zeal for or faith in that democracy which nerved the arms of the Americans. It was the point of the greatest divergence in Anglo-Saxon history; and it proved to be a momentous period in world history. Perhaps American democrats did as much for the English speaking peoples of the world in that cruel war of revolution as British swords and ships a little later did for the world in breaking the power of Napoleon.

The war was drawn out so long and the brutalities of both sides were so many and shrieking that good feeling was slow to return. The great French emperor came and set up his universal monarchy. He subjugated all continental Europe. England alone resisted. It was not a democratic England, but that oligarchy against which Americans had gone to war. Yet it was a heroic struggle which lasted almost a quarter of a century. Americans could not distinguish between Napoleon and the French people for many years. And when at last in 1812, Napoleon drew the whole civilized world into the war, the Americans chose the side of autocracy and once more fought their British cousins. It was that second war which embittered the minds of liberal Englishmen, which wrote upon the pages of British school books the belittling accounts of the unregenerate colonists.

And it was this selfsame second war with England which gave Americans that solid conviction that the mother country could never forgive or forget, that marred so many pages of their history with bitter stories of English hostility. Perhaps it was in the nature of things that the two countries must distrust each other for a century; perhaps the two peoples had bad consciences and so could not sit peaceably together at any council table. To Englishmen, we had joined the great emperor in that life and death struggle; to us, Englishmen refused to recognize our hardly won independence and seized ten thousand American sailors upon the ocean and kept them in filthy prisons. Only the coming of a second great European autocracy has sufficed to erase from Anglo-Saxon minds the bitterness of these recollections.

England moves slowly. From 1812 to 1846 when a reactionary statesman secured the adoption of a liberal trade policy, England gradually approached that democracy with which Americans had begun in 1776. Perhaps the two countries would yet approach a common platform of things. But as ill luck would have it, just as England in her cautious way rediscovered democracy the dominant party in the United States veared round to conservatism and that very kind of oligarchy that had domineered Britain in 1776. When the ideas of Jefferson and the bones of Tom Paine became dear to great masses of Englishmen, American leaders pooh-poohed Jefferson and disowned

Paine. When John Bright and Richard Cobden were regenerating England and teaching men anew the doctrine of equality and the simple Christian life, Americans were painfully learning from courts and lawyers and great divines that men are not created equal, that privilege and prescriptive rights are the criteria of civilization and the only guarantees of safety. When the English became democratic, the Americans took the other turn.

As if one long misunderstanding were not enough, when we on this side set up Abraham Lincoln and endeavored in a long and trying war to get back to first principles, the English on their side set up Palmerston and poked fun at American democracy. Great men like Carlyle poured unmerciful ridicule upon a people that had done little else in the world than reproduce its kind in disreputable and ill-kempt hordes. And on our side, when the ordeal of civil war was over, our greatest democrat (Charles Sumner), according to English views, suddenly turned upon his British friends and demanded the immediate annexation of Canada in satisfaction of the damages suffered by American commerce on account of British sympathy with the Confederacy.

As the years passed and Gladstone taught England afresh the principles of democracy and that country approached the position and the faith of the Americans of 1776, the Americans entered upon their long apostasy to democracy. From 1866 to 1896, merchants, manufacturers, and railway builders and bankers gradually seized the vital agencies of government in the United States and directed public policies in the same spirit and for the same purposes that animated the British merchants and ship owners of Lord North's day. When Gladstone shuddered at the raw and materialistic rule of Bismarck in Germany, our statesmen shouted approval of that ruthless foe of democracy and gave hearty approval to the cruel and brutal war upon France which was the first cause of the present world struggle.

Would the sundered brethren of the same great household never forget their differences and turn their faces at the same time toward the natural and proper goal? It seemed not. We almost closed our markets by protective tariffs to English goods. And we drove our Monroe Doctrine to extremes. And one must not forget that there were then, as ever, plenty of opportunities to quarrel. England encouraged and stimulated ill feeling in South America against the "grasping Yankees," and Yankees responded in the same manner toward selfish and "crafty Britons."

When the long years of purposed and unpurposed exploitation of the people of the United States brought things to a crisis in 1896 and President Cleveland could find no other way of escape he found a long-

standing dispute between England and Venezuela unsettled. Secretary Olney laid down the law to Lord Salisbury, the prime minister of Great Britain, in much the fashion of a Boston police court. The United States "sovereign on both American continents, our fiat is law," and so forth, was the idea of that vigorous diplomat. Lord Salibury, and all England felt the danger to be great. The two peoples rattled their swords and made angry gesticulations across the Atlantic. The slightest slip must have plunged us into war, and such a war! No true Briton or American can now read the story of those strained days without a shudder. By rare good luck the English government happened to be in hands that found a way to appease the angry President and thus save us from a third struggle.

Four years later when the same reactionary British government permitted the outbreak of the Boer War, American opinion was hotly anti-English, in large measure because the London authorities were so hopelessly and blindly autocratic. Americans have never got on well with a tory British ministry, not even when reactionary men are in office in Washington. Under the same Tory influences in England, however, were the beginnings of the present cordial relations between the two countries firmly laid. Although Salisbury had nothing but contempt for whatever democracy we were then able to maintain, he heartily approved our war with Spain and British influence pushed President McKinley forward in his first steps in imperialism. English Liberals as well as Tories seemed glad to have the United States publicly disavow the principles of their great declaration of 1776. John Hay was the most popular minister the United States ever sent to London.

But when we were fairly embarked upon the dangerous sea of imperialism, the British were backsliding from their stiff aristocratic position. As luck would have it they turned democratic, as we fell in love with the opposite ideal. When Lloyd George rose to undisputed leadership in England and began to democratise the island root and branch, we were just entering upon that last lap of financial domination which played havoc with politicians who endeavored to stir in men again the ideals of Jefferson and Lincoln. Some of our leaders feared the consequences of British democracy; and British democrats wondered if we should ever again get upon the same platform with them, and unite our great influence in the world for better or for worse.

But we were slowly awakening from our long slumber. The great apostacy of 1866 was reaching its end; Americans, like the English, began to see in 1912 that political democracy without economic democracy was a farce. In that year, as if by one single bound, we made the great change and put another man of Lincoln's mind in office. While

Lloyd George broke the power of the ancient house of lords, Woodrow Wilson broke the power of our financial autocracy. Old and ungenerous tariff laws were lowered. We kept our faith on the Panama Canal tolls question; we refused to exploit the hapless Chinese republic just getting on its feet; and we held all the greedy elements of the modern financial world off poor Mexico, likewise undergoing a democratic revolution.

For once there were democratic régimes in London and Washington at one and the same time. It was the first time since Englishmen became a nation on this continent that Englishmen at home genuinely sympathized with American democracy. The Declaration of Independence ceased to read so badly in London and Jefferson and Lincoln became heroes that might be named in polite British society. Still there were the histories that the children of the two peoples must read. They exaggerated the bad points in American character to British children; they taught American boys and girls that British tyranny was the only cause of the wars of the two peoples. What children learn in early years is not easy to eradicate or correct, the more when we know that most men never have the time in later years to read and reëstimate the stories they learn in childhood. One only has to examine the books we still use in the schools to see how strong is the bent to mutual dislike if not mutual hatred. It is little short of a crime, what we have taught our young and what they have taught their young.

Before American democracy got on its feet after the long era of backsliding and when conservative England was making its clumsy bows to us during the Spanish War, the Germans began their great propaganda. The one objective was to widen the still unhealed breach between the two countries. Exchange professors came to our universities, they lectured all over the country, they helped and stimulated the German particularist societies wherever they were found. School books were tampered. Kultur was lauded and German efficiency became a slogan among us. Many of our men who are naturally inclined to autocratic social arrangements were captivated. Business men, especially the heads of great industrial concerns, wished for a similar efficiency, for "German" control over labor, for an imitation in this country of that rigid subordination of class to class which has made the Kaiser such a master, such a monster as recent history has shown him to be.

It was not long before we found Germans in this country talking that same efficiency, boasting of autocracy and social stratification which was the common language of the well-to-do Germans at home. Darwin's law of the survival of the fittest was worked to the limit; and Nietsche's super-men strutted upon our streets. We were in a good way, being

prosperous beyond all records known to mankind, to fall a victim to a new and heathenish god. Not only would Germany lead Americans and Englishmen to hate each other; she endeavored to make us ashamed of our old democratic philosophy. The will to power and the right of the strong to rule the weak became suspiciously popular slogans with us. Some leaders of great masses of men talked glibly of the big stick and the duty of compelling smaller nations to behave. One great American captain of industry declared that God had given strong men of wealth a "divine right" to govern the country.

But as I have shown, the older instincts were too strong. We regained in 1913 our ancient faith in kindly dealing, our love of equality among men and the will to restore democracy to its wonted place in our life. That was the fitting prelude to the great war into which we have entered, a war in which we help, not the autocrats, as in 1912, but those who deserve help and are determined to make the world a better place for human habitation.

When Germany made her fateful plunge into Belgium, most Americans admired beyond all comparison the splendid conduct of democratic England. Young men quietly left the plow in the field or abandoned callings and professions to which they had been attached and put on such armor as they could improvise. Plain men everywhere took up grimly the weapons of war, saying "never again shall this sort of thing happen." Five million Britons offered themselves without compulsion to their government, one-tenth of the population volunteering to fight the most perfect military machine that was ever shaped by man. There has, I believe, never before been such a demonstration of idealism and devotion to one's country. No autocracy has ever given mankind such a demonstration; it was democratic, self-governing England making ready for desperate conflict.

Magnificent as that was, Americans did not wholly grasp its meaning. Western men, all their lives accustomed to doubt England and to think of English lords and bishops rather than English men, did not understand. They, in common with most men everywhere, noticed too closely the rising prices of farm products. For the moment they were blinded; they would not see the danger to the world or the heroic conduct of their kinsmen over the sea.

It was not different in the South, where men berated England for the German blockade which sadly reduced the price of cotton. It is a fact that rising prices in the West delayed the understanding of the war which must come before we took a part in it and that falling prices in the South had a similar effect there. But Southerners, once broken upon the wheel of war, were slow for that reason to bring themselves to

think of going to the aid of England. Thus German propaganda, high prices in the West and low prices in the South tended to blind the body of our plain people to the essential facts in the case.

And, as if to make a bad situation worse, England permitted huge quantities of cotton to be shipped into Germany. The British government feared the effect of a total blockade of Germany. They played for Southern support by letting Germany have that cotton with which she has been able to add at least a year to successful warfare. Moreover, grain and meat shipments were smuggled into Germany long after the blockade went into effect and thus the Germans were immensely strengthened in their fierce attack upon civilization. In order to avoid irritating the South, England let Germany have the needful cotton; in order to counteract German propaganda in the West, the packers and others were permitted to ship immense stores to the German autocrats themselves. What a price to pay for our misunderstanding? How many millions of lives might otherwise have been spared in the Great War?

It was the business of President Wilson to educate his Western and Southern followers. But as ill luck would have it again, the East promptly demanded an early entrance of the United States into the struggle. It was the same East whom West and South had long considered as their exploiters, Eastern bankers, railway presidents and industrial magnates who began first the cry that democracy was in danger. There can be no doubt that they were right; but the inconsistency of their urgent appeals for democracy seemed too glaring. Men like Mr. Bryan, long accustomed to distrust everything that originated in the East, were misled.

To combat the powerful German propaganda, the British sent many speakers and writers, pacifists in a general way, but intense haters of the German system. They visited the big cities of the East where public opinion hardly needed any urging. Doubtless, they thought to combat the German agents, they distrusted the President and his cabinet; they breathed the atmosphere of distrust in all the great industrial centers. This also delayed the reunion of British and American democracy. Possibly it could not be otherwise. At any rate the simpler-minded South and West did not have the gospel preached to them. They must find their way to the proper goal without teachers.

Germany became their teacher. Western and Southern farmers knew little at the beginning of the Great War of Germany or of its emperor. They looked upon all kings and nobles as equally bad; they were inclined to think that it was simply a case of "dog eat dog." Even the German march into Belgium did not move them. Was not Belgium a kingdom? As to France, there was considerable sympathy, but no

thought that her cause was our cause. The sinking of the Lusitania was a blow which caused them to take notice. Were not the victims helpless women and children? Were they not going about their business? Were they not our own people? These questions answered themselves. Only some men offered the excuse that Americans had been warned off the ocean, that they should not enter the war zone, and especially not upon British ships. To people who had never seen the ocean and who had never thought of the effect to them of closing the Atlantic till the war should be over, this way of looking at things seemed reasonable for a moment.

Von Tirpitz would not let the cruelty of the Lusitania be the last of German frightfulness. It was but the beginning. Every day after May, 1915, brought new tales of German methods. Edith Cavell was murdered. Prisoners were maltreated. Civilian populations, old and young alike, were taken into captivity and made to work in mines or build fortifications within range of French and English guns; the sink and kill submarine policy was adopted and the United States were told that all of its billions of trade with Europe must be limited to the sailing of a single ship a week. The simplest of men could see what this meant. There were to be no national rights except such as Germany might choose to grant.

Common men began to think of going to war not merely to break the power of Germany but above all to make an end of war. Americans, like the English, are naturally hostile to armies. For a thousand years they have been trained to think that armies are the enemies of freedom and democracy. There are few things which common men in the two countries believe more firmly than this, that a military state is an autocratic state. One thing which hindered the American move into the war was just the fact that, before 1917, the East and its political leadership were committed to universal military service as well after as during the war. If we are to beat Germany by ourselves becoming like Germany, then we had best keep out. That was the thought and language of millions of our plain people. Once again the ardent friends of England and France, the men and women who saw that the whole world would be subjected to the German military system unless we hastened to their aid, delayed the movement for war; delayed it by insisting upon a law for universal military service before we went to war. It was distressing to the true friends of the allies to witness this stubborn and obstructive program pressed in Washington every day. If, as we must now recognize, a few months more had intervened before our declaration of war, the cause itself would have been lost or success delayed for years.

The one man in the United States who had the faith of inarticulate people led the way. President Wilson assumed the powers of an autocrat, as an American president may always do in time of great stress, and by astute leadership he defeated the militarists and the pro-Germans at the same time. He made nearly all men see the calamitous situation and he led directly and promptly to war, a war to make an end of war, a war for a league of nations and disarmament everywhere. There has seldom in all history been such masterful leadership of the varied elements of a complex people as that shown by the President in 1917. And the result was a national unity in the United States such as had never before been witnessed. The war became a crusade for democracy resembling that which Frenchmen waged in the early stages of their great revolution.

Immediately the whole tone of the war in France and England took on a more solemn tone. Liberals and radicals, all those forces of Europe which tend to establish a more human and brotherly system in the world at the end of the war, rallied to Wilson. He became more democratic himself and he made the United States more democratic than she has been since her first great Declaration. Autocrats took to cover everywhere. British laborers, French socialists and Italian radicals ranged themselves behind the American leader; Poles and Bohemians and Serbs turned their hopes, disappointed at home for hundreds of years to the man in Washington. One critic of Wilson said that he "speaks like God Almighty" and it was not sacrilege.

The British democracy had joined hands, after a hundred years and more of quarrel and backbiting. It is a thing worthy of celebrating; it is perhaps the second greatest event that has come of the war. If the various groups of the English speaking peoples of the world unite in a common democratic federation a moral union that goes to the core of things, we shall be able to do great and good things for mankind, including the German people. Let us not make sure, however, that the present union of the British and the American democracies is permanent or that it will continue. There are always two peoples in any country, those who love and have faith in the masses of common men and those who fear and distrust common men. It will not be long before such as fear and distrust will find opportunity to set up for themselves, before the leaders of reaction will catch Lloyd George and Wilson in serious disagreement and take advantage of it. And if men who hate democracy come to power in either country, the democracy of the other will find its position difficult and quarrels must ensue, for reactionary men will always find occasions to press their interests—interests which do not unite but separate us.

But my story is not complete. The two great democratic countries of the world are, at any rate, working together at the present great moment. As we have seen that has never before happened; and the present understanding may last long enough for the world to get on its feet and for the better elements of mankind to set up machinery and start habits that shall continue. If Poland, prostrate for a century and a half, can be set up afresh; if Bohemia longing for freedom, denied since the time of John Huss, can now organize and put her house in order; if the Armenians who have suffered for half a thousand years from autocracy secure their just rights, why may not the rest of the world take courage? If these things happen, as they are surely about to happen, it is because England and the United States have for once come to a good understanding and gone to war for what seems to be an ideal. Has there ever been a greater moment in history than the present?

Great moments do not, however, last unless sustained by sacrifice and righteous conduct, I was about to say Christian conduct. The English and the Americans have more to do than to set up the oppressed of earth; they have to come to the aid of the oppressors and teach them a newer and better way. If Germany and Austria should be treated now as they deserve to be treated, if justice should be meted out to them, they would be subjected to the rest of the world for years to come; they would be compelled to repay France, Belgium, England, Russia and all the rest for the injuries that have been done. That would be justice. But that would all fall upon the present and next succeeding generations and the burden would be too great to be borne. One generation ought not to be compelled to pay the debts of others, sufficient are the burdens of today. How shall the children of today bear all the sins of the fathers?

It is necessary that the present generations of Europeans learn to get on, to respect, if not love one another. To that end we must punish Germans just enough to make them ashamed, but not enough to make them nurse an ambition to get even. Great masses of men feed upon their grievances and adversity strengthens, quite as much as prosperity weakens, the fibre of a people. For a hundred and fifty years Germans have been unable to blot out Poland or compel the abandonment of an ideal that seemed to all the world as an impossible hope. Poland is perhaps stronger today than it has ever been. Without annihilation a great people cannot be subdued in soul and aspiration.

If this be so, our united democracies have enough to do for Germany. We must not make her a solid Teutonic bloc, like the solid Bohemia of the last four hundred years or the solid South, which has persisted against all sorts of ridicule and most insidious temptations till this day

and which this day governs the North quite as completely as it did before Lincoln became President; governs much better, I ought to add, than the country has ever been governed before. No; humiliation, burdens too great to be borne, sneers and taunts will not make the German people love anybody and they must learn a little of the doctrine of love before the world settles down to a common democratic status. That is the second task of our two countries.

There is still a third undertaking. We have all the better "places in the sun," we have an overwhelming population; and our peoples have undoubtedly the ability to make and keep themselves richer than other peoples. With advantages of climate, soil and the strategic positions of commerce, we should prove a poor people if this were not so. It was to dislodge us from these positions that Germany herself ran amuck in 1914. It is our duty to use these advantages and these riches as in trust. The backward peoples of the world must not be exploited by ourselves, neither openly and violently as has been done by us in the past, nor through the subtler processes of commerce and finance. A nation cannot enslave another nation without itself being enslaved. Germany is our warning in this regard. The American Revolution is a still better lesson for English ears.

The third and greatest task of the Anglo-Saxon race is, therefore, to maintain democracy first in their own regions and not to impose financial or other autocracy elsewhere. It is not so great a matter to conquer a nation as it is to rule one's own spirit. Having united after a hundred and fifty years of quarrel and warfare, it ought not to be impossible to remain united even after the great occasion that has united us. We are the beneficiaries of hundreds of years of experience in self-government; we know or we should know the sources of democratic weakness as well as strength. Our asset and our liability is the possession of great riches. How true is the ancient saying that a rich man shall hardly enter the kingdom of heaven. The rich man is our problem. He wants to become richer. He wishes to expand his markets. Then he wishes democracy to protect those markets. If democracy denies the wish, he begins to build social and economic machinery to accomplish his ends. If he succeeds democracy falls; if he does not succeed, he bides his time and leaves his son a legacy of discontent. One day the great mass of inarticulate men forget their duty or quarrel among themselves or overreach themselves in some social policy and the opportunity long awaited is offered. Those who fear and distrust as a matter of faith come to power. They kept their hands on the helm long years as in Germany by sowing seeds of fear and distrust; and democracy went into eclipse.

Of all the problems that a reunited England and America have before them, the pacification of Europe, the healing of the wounded spirit of Germany and the disbandment of armies everywhere, the most difficult will be that of keeping our own souls, of maintaining that measure of democracy and Christianity that we now possess. Let not misunderstanding and quarrels ever again weaken our cause or delay the better progress of the world.

Anglo-American Diplomatic Relations During the Last Half-Century

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I. Introduction

Between two nations like John Bull and Uncle Sam, sons of the same family but resident in different hemispheres, one might thoughtlessly expect diplomatic relations so continuously friendly as to furnish scanty materials for the historian. The reverse has been true.

Though we were indeed often an almost negligible item among England's international worries, our own diplomatic history between the Revolution and our Civil War is chiefly a record of controversies and hard-won agreements with Great Britain.

The fact that both peoples used the tongue of Shakespeare and held the faith and morals of Milton was not always clearly helpful. It was too easy for each to hear and read what the other said.

For Uncle Sam, the resentments arising from two wars, one for independence and one for sailors' rights, became traditional, an inheritance handed from one generation to another. Knowing little of Europe except England, he personified in that country, really most like himself, many of those assumptions of caste which he had discarded.

John Bull, on the other hand, or at any rate his dominant classes who were the only vocal part of him in the Napoleonic era, agreed with most other European observers that our political system was a short-lived experiment, foredoomed to failure. Knowing little of democracies except the recent "red fool fury of the Seine," he believed as a matter of course that our great and growing empire and population would in time outgrow the ignorant turbulence of an unbalanced suffrage or else would crash in chaos.

Meanwhile then, as at all times since, there is no doubt that the two peoples, at the core of their souls, were secretly proud of each other, even when no pressure could have forced either publicly to admit it.

During the half-century prior to the outbreak of our Civil War our relations with England were concerned entirely with the facts of our own national growth and influence upon this continent. To us these were isolated American questions. To the British Government they were not always separate from wider issues.

We fought the War of 1812 in a rage against British assertion of a right to draft British born seamen from our ships.

To Great Britain, which did not want that war, it was only one more item in the titanic struggle against Napoleon, and the end of that war was forgotten by England in the excitement of Napoleon's return from Elba.

To Monroe and Adams and to our people generally the proclamation of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823 was a new Declaration of American Independence, the independence of a democratic American hemisphere from a monarchical Europe, including Great Britain.

To the British Foreign Secretary, George Canning, who suggested that proclamation, it was a strategic diplomatic move against the Holy Alliance. It was a powerful blow in behalf of the new force of Nationalism, of whose claims in Greece as well as in America, England was then, as ever, the chief European champion against the Continental autocrats. Canning indeed was much displeased that our Government did not associate itself with Great Britain in proclaiming the Doctrine.

The fact remains that the Monroe Doctrine of America for Americans has been no less advantageous to the United States than to Great Britain, which is also a great American power, and whose fleet will defend the Doctrine as long as the Union Jack flies over Canada.

Until near the middle of the Nineteenth Century, England as an American power used its consular, diplomatic and other agencies to oppose the extension of our influence and interests in the territories of Mexico and Central America and in the Oregon country. This opposition was based partly on the Spanish-American fear of the ambition of our Southern leaders to find new soil for slavery. That difference was ended by the emigrant rush that carried us across Texas, over the Rockies and into the valley of the Columbia River.

Another powerful influence for harmony was the English adoption of a free trade policy in 1846 which changed the traditional English attitude towards commercial competition, and drove even the sons of our old Tories in Canada into the arms of the United States in the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854.

In truth English experience with us and with Canada had imbued the English mind with the belief that self-governing colonies were a source of weakness rather than strength.

When Cobden, the apostle of free trade, became the oracle of England's economic policies, colonists were considered only as customers. Their allegiance was a matter of indifference. Cobden was thinking of a federation of the world and not of British imperial unities. The Tories believed that colonies, which under free trade could not be exploited, would become an intolerable burden. The Whigs argued that free trade would be as advantageous for colonies as for the motherland,

but that if a colony wanted political as well as economic freedom it ought to have it. In this doctrine all leaders, Peel and Disraeli, as well as Gladstone and Russell, coincided.

Consequently, English sentiment, intent more and more exclusively upon commercial wealth, agreed that the United States should assume control of Central America, and offered but mild censure of the many voices that were raised in Canada for annexation.

Amid this complexity of opinions about colonies, commerce and transatlantic politics, there was gradually forming in the English mind one underlying principle of diplomatic intercourse with the United States, still regarded by many Englishmen as a sort of colony, though a renegade one. That principle was the preservation and enhancement of England's commercial interests, a policy which demanded, as Cobden taught, the maintenance of peace.

The genesis of this British view of Anglo-American diplomatic relations may be traced, long before the days of Cobden and free trade, as far back as the Rush-Bagot Agreement of 1817 in which Lord Castlereagh prevailed over his colleagues in the Ministry who would have guarded Canada with fleets and armies. Instead it was agreed that neither the United States nor England should maintain a war-fleet upon any of the Great Lakes. This was the most outstanding example of a diplomatic triumph of economic common sense over political rivalries in the Nineteenth Century prior to the Geneva Arbitration. In the same spirit the long-protracted boundary disputes affecting Maine and Oregon were settled in 1842 to 1846, the Central American and Isthmian questions disposed of in 1850 and 1856 on the basis of joint Anglo-American interest in a neutralized canal, and the old British claim to a right of search was abandoned in 1858.

The simple fact is that in the decade of the fifties the rulers of England perceived that, in addition to all the other motives for favoring the United States, the trade with America especially in cotton and cotton products had reached vast importance and value, and that, therefore, it was the wisest diplomacy for England to underwrite the one great purpose of American diplomacy, viz.: the assertion of its leadership in American affairs.

For such reasons Anglo-American diplomatic relations between 1856 and 1860 attained for a moment a level of unmistakable concord. All disputes were ended. Then came the crash of our Civil War, and suddenly all diplomatic skill of both London and Washington was needed to prevent the two nations from reverting to the conditions of 1812.

II. From the Era of Our Civil War to the Present Day

The English and American peoples are so united in spiritual life that a civil war in one is sure to agitate and divide the other also. At the outset each party in the United States counted confidently on the support of the English Government and people, the North because of the universal condemnation of human slavery, the South because of the importance of cotton to English commerce.

The diplomatic efforts of both were concentrated upon Great Britain. With her aid the South might win. Without her aid the Southern cause was almost hopeless, and the one European friend of the South, Louis Napoleon, would not dare to interfere directly. That England did not actively interfere on the Southern side is a proof of the power of idealism in English politics. The modern Prussian who does not value or believe in such forces has not ceased to wonder at England's failure to seize that opportunity.

Bernhardi wrote in 1901, "Since England committed the unpardonable blunder . . . of not supporting the Southern States in the American War of Secession, a rival to England's world-wide empire has appeared . . . in the form of the United States of North America." The same authority, after the present Great War began, marveled that we did not take advantage of England's distress to take possession of Canada. But the English Government in 1861–65 tried in characteristic British ways to keep aloof from the American struggle. The result was that England incurred the fierce dislike of both South and North.

The Southern leaders were disappointed and angry because the English Government would not recognize the Confederacy as independent, although the Premier, Palmerston, at one time in 1862 favored such action, and because the English Government would not interfere with the Federal blockade of the Southern ports, and because English sentiment against slavery was so strong, Alexander H. Stephens even proposed to abolish slavery in the hope of thus winning English favor.

The resentment of the North had more complex elements. Ie became increasingly disappointed and angry for the following reasons:

First, the English Government recognized in May, 1861, the belligerent rights of the Confederates. Although President Lincoln had practically done the same thing a month earlier by proclaiming the blockade, the North felt that the action had been hasty and therefore unfriendly.

Second, the sympathy of the upper and wealthier classes of English society was given not to the free North but to the more aristocratic South. They bought Southern bonds. *The Times* thundered for the South. A majority of English writers pointed out that it would be

advantageous for England to deal with two republics here instead of one, and that our crude democracy had found its inevitable end. The historian, Freeman, sat down to write in several volumes a "History of Federal Government, from the Foundation of the Achaian League to the Disruption of the United States." He published the first volume in 1863 and wrote no more. Mr. Gladstone almost disrupted Palmerston's cabinet in 1862 by announcing in a public address that Jefferson Davis and other leaders of the South had made an army, a navy and a nation. Our people noted that Gladstone's wish was the father of his thought, but could not know at the time that, by his premature and indiscreet eulogy he had thwarted the hope of official recognition of Southern independence, a hope that was forever extinguished by Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

Third, the English Government placed so lax an interpretation upon its neutrality laws that a half-dozen cruisers flying the Confederate flag, built in British shipyards, manned by British crews using an equipment bought in England, and permitted to use British ports as bases of supply, roamed the ocean and destroyed practically all of our merchant marine that was not sold to Englishmen.

The Laird rams, the most powerful warships that were built in England for the Confederates and that, if set free, might have shattered our blockade, were prevented from leaving the docks, not so much by the vigilance of the British Government as by the wise courage of our minister, Adams, who wrote to Earl Russell: "It would be superfluous in me to point out to your lordship that this is war." But, in spite of all these delinquencies and blunders, the fact remains that Confederate diplomacy utterly failed to obtain any help from England to break the strangle-hold of the Federal blockade.

Our own unwise laws prevented us from recovering our merchant marine after the war was over, but our public opinion was by that time too incensed against Great Britain to see or believe that, and believed that English neutrality had been purposely strained so that the only rival merchant marine might be wiped out.

Fourth, England was perfectly right in resenting the insult to her flag when Wilkes seized Mason and Slidell, and English traders were perfectly right in running our blockade if they could, but an inflamed public opinion found new grievances in all these things, and glorified Wilkes for turning the tables on the right of search.

The fact is that each nation found itself in a novel and unaccustomed role. England, usually a belligerent, had to learn how to be a neutral. The United States, usually a neutral champion of unrestricted commerce and hostile to blockades, had to learn how to conduct a successful

blockade of enormous extent. In order to achieve the latter purpose, we devised the doctrine of the "continuous voyage" so that we might interfere with neutral commerce between the neutral ports of Liverpool and Nassau.

With that doctrine the English blockade in this war has been choking Germany, and our protests were met by quoting our own argument in the time of the Civil War.

Fifth, Canada sheltered many Southern sympathizers and Confederate refugees who planned to wreck bridges and railway trains, to scatter disease germs in Northern cities, and who directed brigand raids across the border. For this menace upon our Northern frontier the North held both Canada and England responsible, although it is sufficiently evident that officers of the law in Canada were not intentionally remiss in preserving neutrality.

The majority of the governing class in England were convinced that the South would win and wished it to. The Cabinet, as a whole, intended to play fair, but they were sluggish and delinquent in enforcing neutrality and acted through unwilling agents. Earl Russell sent an order to detain the *Alabama* at Liverpool, but the order was not delivered until after the *Alabama* had sailed. On the other hand the British Government steadily refused to join the sham Napoleon in aid to the South. In doing this it powerfully defended the Monroe Doctrine at a moment when we were unable to do it ourselves. If this republic had been split in two, neither fragment could have been predominant in American affairs and the European rulers would easily have used our political systems as make-weights in their perilous balance of power.

The British Government refused to receive Mason, the Confederate envoy, and turned down every proposal for mediation or intervention. When it became evident that the triumph of the North would destroy slavery, English sympathy for the Union cause increased daily. The laborers of Lancashire, led by John Bright, though in distress through the paralysis of the cotton mills, stood firm for human freedom. Both nations were well served by the men to whom their diplomatic interests were entrusted. Lord Lyons, the British Minister at Washington, was a model of discretion, and Charles Francis Adams at the Court of St. James was as fortunate a choice for us as was Lincoln in the White House. In character, manner, education and abilities Mr. Adams was exactly adapted to his difficult task. He found out every move of his opponents, and if he could not thwart them outright he recorded with dignity and tact his protests in the right places and at the right times. He kept his temper and his friends. He made no mistakes. Above all

he patiently accumulated such a mass of information and evidence that after the war, when the time came for England and the United States to settle accounts, he was absolutely master of the situation.

We have always sent our ablest sons to be our diplomatic representatives in England. That roll of honor outshines our list of presidents in intellectual power, carrying as it does, the names of three Adamses, two Pinckneys, John Jay, Albert Gallatin, Martin VanBuren, Edward Everett, George Bancroft, Reverdy Johnson, James Russell Lowell, E. J. Phelps, Thomas F. Bayard, John Hay and Joseph Choate. No other among them bore a burden so heavy as that of the third Adams. His countrymen never fully realized the value of his public service because his victories were won in the invisible realms of diplomacy. In my judgment his campaigns were in their way as vital to the preservation of our republic as were those of Grant.

Mr. Lincoln had no diplomatic experience and when he became President had little knowledge of international affairs. His marvellous acquaintance with human nature and his common sense enabled him to gauge his international responsibilities with more sagacity than that shown by Jefferson Davis, who was a man of better education and wider experience in public service; more too than by Seward, whose emotional brainstorms Lincoln curbed before his Administration was three months old.

It is curious that Lincoln's repression of Seward's rash desire to quarrel with England and France in 1861 was exactly duplicated in England six months later by the Prince Consort and Queen Victoria, who took the sting out of Lord Russell's dispatch concerning the seizure of Mason and Slidell.

Both nations were happy in the possession of rulers who remained sane, even when the people were angry and politicians lost their heads. Perhaps the Executive task would have been harder if the newspapers of those days had been fed by transatlantic cables.

As the Civil War deepened, the bonds of amity between this country and England grew weaker. When the detention of the Laird rams, in 1863, showed that the British Government had decided to adopt a stricter theory of neutrality, Mr. Adams offered to submit to arbitration our claims for damages caused by the *Alabama* and its sister cruisers. Lord Russell refused on the ground that the question involved the national honor, and therefore could not be submitted to arbitration. It was already determined in 1864 that the United States would not renew the Reciprocity Treaty with Canada, which would come to its term in 1866. That treaty was doomed not only by the resentment

against both England and Canada but also by the rapid growth of protectionist sentiment in the United States under the new war tariff.

The raids of Confederate sympathizers across the Canadian border in 1864 directly impelled our Government to notify Great Britain that the Agreement of 1817 for mutual disarmament on the Great Lakes would end the following year.

Lord Lyons wrote to his chief: "There can, unhappily, be no doubt that three-quarters of the American people are eagerly longing for a safe opportunity of making war with England. . . . The ill-will shows itself in many ways—principally in vexatious proceedings in regard to the neighboring colonies." In the American and Canadian parliaments alike members began to talk of gunboats and fortifications on the frontiers. In the House of Commons Lord Palmerston in February, 1865, used these words of studied moderation: "We cannot deny that things did take place on the Lakes of which the United States were justly entitled to complain; and if the measures to which they have recourse are simply calculated, as they say, for the protection of their commerce and their citizens, I think they are perfectly justified in having recourse to them."

The most far-reaching result of these coils of circumstance was the birth of Canadian unity and nationality in the formation of a federation of British colonies, out of which has grown the modern Dominion of Canada. This new nation was heralded in conferences in Canada and London in the winter of 1865. Although the notice of abrogation of the Agreement of 1817 was soon withdrawn by our Government and the rapid collapse of the Confederacy greatly relieved the tension on both sides of the ocean, the Canadians felt that our new tariff closed to them the doors of the United States. The new strength of the great republic evoked an answering assertion of national power in Canada. This rising tide of British loyalty was swollen by a fresh threat of war along the border from Fenian organizations in the United States. The militant Irish on both sides of the ocean confidently expected that the controversies between England and the United States would result in war, as soon as our armies and fleets were free to act. Finding that the wounds showed some tendency to heal rather than to fester, the Fenian leaders started to conquer England by way of Canada on their own account in 1866, in 1870, and again in 1871, ridiculous affairs in which many ignorant honest men were dupes. These disgraceful provocations were ended forever by the triumph of peaceful diplomacy in the treaty of Washington in 1871 and the ensuing Arbitration Tribunal at Geneva in 1872.

The Fenian adventurers defeated their own object. Our Government could not afford to be lax in policing Canadian borders at the time when it was pressing upon England a claim for damages because England had been remiss in performing its neutral duties.

The worst obstacle to peaceful solutions was not the Fenian but the incendiary talk of reckless politicians in our Congress and in our press, and the extravagant plans of dreamers like Charles Sumner.

Senator Sumner in 1869 wielded for the moment an exceptional influence. He was chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, and by reason of his long martyrdom from Brooks' assault no less than by reason of his abilities he was a dominant intellectual force in the Republican party. He was supposed to have the confidence of the new President Grant, and he secured the appointment of his close friend, John Lothrop Motley, as Minister to England. Sumner agreed with Seward that England should be held responsible for all losses that Americans had suffered not only by the depredations of Confederate privateers, but by the substitution of the British merchant marine for our own. His bill for these losses was two and a half billions of dollars. He told the Senate and the world that the only way to ensure peace in this hemisphere was to banish the English flag from it and substitute the Stars and Stripes. Estimating that the whole of British America was fairly worth about two and a half billions of dollars, he seriously proposed to cancel all claims against England and begin the new reign of peace and brotherly love on condition of receiving from England the title to all her possessions, continental and insular, within the New World.

English statesmen, on the other hand, were only waiting to appeal from Philip drunk to Philip sober. The traditional belief among them that the American republic would not long endure died when Lee surrendered. English public opinion, except among a few extreme Tories, admitted that the Americans had cause for complaint, and that some reparation was due for the mistakes of Palmerston's administration. With the Liberal party, which came into power in 1869 were aligned most of the English groups who had been stanch supporters of the North during the war. Mr. Gladstone, the new Premier, who had shaken off all relics of his original Toryism, was convinced of the wisdom of yielding to the claims of the United States as soon as it could be safely done.

Even on the subject of Canadian annexation responsible British leaders were still holding Cobden's doctrine. The London Times, discussing in 1869 the inchoate Canadian Confederation, declared that

England would not withstand the colonies if they preferred to slip into the Union rather than the Dominion, and added: "Instead of the colonies being the dependencies of the Mother Country, the Mother Country has become the dependency of the colonies. We are tied while they are loose. We are subject to danger, while they are free."

Lord Clarendon in 1870 wrote to Lord Lyons: "I wish that the Canadians would propose to be independent and to annex themselves. We can't throw them off and it is very desirable that we part as friends." Sir Edward Thornton, the British Minister at Washington, remarked to our Secretary, Hamilton Fish, in 1869, "England does not wish to keep Canada, but cannot part with it without the consent of the population."

The time when that consent could have been obtained was gone, probably forever.

At first no one in England and but few in the United States realized what a surging tide of British-Canadian loyalty was sweeping through the new Dominion, and that Sir John Macdonald had indeed created a new nation. Canadian sentiment spoke with no uncertain voice, and again English statesmen began to revise their traditions concerning self-governing colonies.

With the beginning of a new administration at Washington in 1869, the ground was soon cleared for a complete reconstruction of Anglo-American relations. Sumner led in the Senatorial rejection of the first attempt to agree upon the questions in dispute—the Johnson-Clarendon Convention of 1868–9, but his influence was soon after shattered by his quarrel with Grant who could be led but not driven. Motley was forced to resign. Sumner was driven from his chairmanship and Secretary Fish abandoned Sumner's grandiose plan of annexing British America. Sumner thereupon inscribed Fish also upon his list of lost souls.

England meanwhile had discovered during the Franco-Prussian battle-summer of 1870, new and cogent reasons for amity with the United States on the basis of strict definitions of neutrality. It is perhaps not too much to say that England was hampered in its dealings with that European conflict by its relations with the United States. Sir Edward Thornton admitted that he could see how the ocean might swarm with *Alabamas,* preying this time on British instead of American commerce.

Both sides were now ready for the final definitive treaty of peace of the Civil War, which was finished at Washington, May 8, 1871, the Canadian Macdonald sitting at the table as one of the English Commission.

Each nation yielded somewhat. England agreed to submit her administration of her own statutes to an alien tribunal, and to accept the

American definition of neutrality as better than her own. The United States dropped the question of annexation, indirect claims for damages and the alleged premature recognition of the Confederacy as a belligerent. Each nation gained both materially and spiritually. Two great principles of concord were comprehensively applied, reciprocity in commercial relations so far as our tariff system would permit, and arbitration in all pending controversies. The reciprocity included free use of waterways and international rivers and a new agreement on the perennial Canadian fisheries dispute. Arbitration was set up for a boundary dispute in Puget Sound and for three classes of disputed claims for damages, among which the *Alabama* claims rightly overshadowed all the others. It is sad to record that our administration nearly wrecked this arbitration at the outset by including a part of the claims for indirect damages in the instructions to our advocates before the tribunal. This bit of sharp practice, intended for political effect in this country, was properly resented by the British Government, which threatened to abandon the arbitration. The honor of the United States and the promise of the new era were saved by Charles Francis Adams, who again deserved well of the republic by inducing the tribunal itself to refuse consideration of indirect claims.

The treaty of 1871 and its ensuing arbitrations were, as I have said, a concluding chapter in our Civil War. He would be woefully mistaken who should think of it as a mere settlement of accounts with cash. The United States received fifteen and a half millions of dollars because England had allowed the Confederate cruisers to slip out of its harbors, and the United States paid to England two millions of dollars for damage that we inflicted upon British subjects during the war, and paid five and a half millions for ten years use of the Canadian inshore fisheries, but these facts were in themselves relatively unimportant. Neither was there anything novel in arbitration. But the beginning of a new era for the English speaking race lay in the fact that these two nations, trembling almost upon the verge of war, had without any other compulsion than that which arises from self-control, referred to judicial process disputes of a character and importance never before settled in such a manner.

The greater triumph was England's, because it was large hearted enough to submit to that judicial review an issue which its own Government had once declared to be a question of national honor. England's attitude in this treaty and its sequences was intended to be an acknowledgment that the American runaway son had won the right to sit at the family table as an equal, that English society had blundered in supposing that the republic would not endure, and that henceforth it would

not be England's fault if friendly relations with the United States were not preserved.

Shortly before the treaty of Washington, Minister Motley gathered the one laurel of his short stay in England in the form of a treaty or convention in which Gladstone's Government abandoned in relation to the United States, the European theory of inalienable citizenship, and accepted the American principle of citizenship by naturalization. This demolished the last cornerstone of the ancient British claim to a right of search and impressment of seamen.

Naturally the English political party which translated these ideas into deeds was the party of modern English democracy. Necessarily the final triumph of a democracy of freemen in the United States reacted strongly, even though obscurely, upon the progress of democracy in the Motherland.

The United States was not so quickly aware, as was England, that in Anglo-American relations old things had passed away. The consolidation of practically all British America into a new empire, with a patriotic national sentiment as insistent, aggressive and vocal as ours had ever been, only occasionally arrested our attention.

Whatever provocation lay in boundaries and fisheries was now Canadian as well as English. While England, in watching Canadian growth, learned a new lesson in Imperial values, the United States seemed unable to formulate any consistent policy towards the new nation, beyond building up a tariff wall against it. Although Fenianism died out, the militant Irish sentiment in the United States, joined to the old Colonial traditions, continued to wield a voting power to which cheap politicians readily appealed by the easy process called "twisting the lion's tail." For about twenty-five years American diplomacy was conducted as an auxiliary to domestic politics. In the latter part of the decade of the eighties our diplomats were trying at the same hour to claim the right of our fishermen to use Eastern Canadian harbors and our right to exercise an exclusive control over Behring Sea and its seal fisheries. Secretary Blaine fell between the two stools. When the seal controversy, which, although not considered as involving a danger of war, had become very acute, was by treaty in 1892 referred to arbitration, the tribunal sitting at Paris in 1893 decided adversely to the United States in every particular. Our Government paid about half a million of dollars in damages for its short-lived attempt to claim an exclusive right to police the high seas.

Mr. Blaine also followed Mr. Evarts in a strenuous assertion that any Isthmian Canal must be under American control without aid from any other power, and Mr. Blaine at least seemed somewhat disconcerted to

discover subsequently that our Clayton-Bulwer treaty with England recognized the principle of joint international responsibility. But what Blaine formulated, Frelinghuysen changed, and what Frelinghuysen favored, Bayard rejected.

Again, Blaine's second term in the Department of State was soon followed by Cleveland's Democratic administration and that introduced Richard Olney, who was Blaine's antithesis.

Blaine was an imaginative, expansive promoter, as some one said, "half charlatan, half genuius." Olney was an acute but narrow jurist. Cleveland was a man of unusual force but no genius. Yet to these two men it fell to force Great Britain to listen to the most audacious formulation of the Monroe Doctrine ever made, one that would have delighted Blaine's soul. It was Olney who signed the dispatch, but the President must have permitted the Secretary to say, June 20, 1895, "Today the United States is practically sovereign on this continent, and its fiat is law upon the subjects to which it confines its interpositions." The arrogance of this tactless utterance doubtless provoked Lord Salisbury to make his rasping and supercilious rejoinder, but it worked far greater evil among our Spanish-American neighbors whom it alarmed and irritated, even down to the present day.

Prior to 1895 Great Britain had never formally acknowledged the Monroe Doctrine, the one most cherished international policy of our people, feeling perhaps that Great Britain was also an owner of the doctrine and like ourselves, an American power. But for fifty years Venezuela and Great Britain had disagreed concerning the boundary of Venezuela and British Guiana. Venezuela offered arbitration. Great Britain refused. Attempts on our part to suggest solutions had been turned down by the British Government, usually with an air of civil indifference. Lord Salisbury mistook President Cleveland's repeated protests as specimens of the American pastimes of bluster and tail-twisting. So he took occasion to explain to Mr. Cleveland that the Monroe Doctrine was not international law and did not entitle the United States to butt into every American boundary dispute, and that the connection between England and her American colonies was not, as Mr. Olney had implied it was, unnatural, inexpedient and temporary.

But Mr. Cleveland was in earnest, and not bluffing, as the noble lord supposed him to be. Through his mouth in December, 1895, the United States said to Salisbury: "The Venezuelan dispute will be settled in accordance with our judgment of the right, if we have to fight for it." Forthwith Congress unanimously adopted Mr. Cleveland's recommendation that an American Commission be appointed to find out where the Venezuelan boundary ought to be.

This defiance was the first intimation to most people on both sides of the water that there was any trouble brewing. The result in England was an almost universal shout, "War with America is unthinkable."

Three hundred and fifty-four members of the House of Commons sent to our Government a signed memorial in favor of an agreement to submit to arbitration all future questions at issue between the two countries. Salisbury found that his own people had for the most part deserted him; Englishmen cared little about the Venezuelan jungle and were regretfully surprised that the Yankees should be interested in it. They were fiercely angry at a coincident German interference in South Africa in the form of a telegram from the Kaiser to President Kruger about the Jameson raid. It was clear to Salisbury that it was an inauspicous time for any difference with the United States. He seized the first opportunity to concede everything to arbitration and to tacitly acknowledge the American interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, in these words, addressed to Ambassador Bayard: "I have empowered Sir Julian Pauncefote to discuss the question either with the representative of Venezuela, or with the Government of the United States, acting as the friend of Venezuela."

This affair produced a profound impression upon the statesmen of Continental Europe, who were no more astonished by the character of Cleveland's action than by the eager acquiescence of English public opinion. It brought home to Europe, and especially to Germany, the fact that the people of these great English-speaking nations were in accord, even though governments differed. A leading German journal summed up the whole affair as "the joint action of the two Anglo-Saxon powers." What had begun as though it were a threat of war had ended in a demonstration of unexpected unity and friendship.

This was, in my opinion, the first convincing demonstration among democratic nations of the truth that, as Elihu Root phrased it, the time has come when peoples and not governments determine international relations.

How real and strong was the cordiality of the English people towards the United States was not fully realized by our people until we entered upon the war for the rescue of Cuba. Great Britain was the only great power that welcomed that action and appreciated the ethical conviction and the idealism that impelled us. When the news of our declaration of war against Spain reached London, in April, 1898, within six hours the city bloomed with American flags, and great crowds of cheering people gathered before the American Embassy. The multitude rejoiced that we were going to abate a nuisance in the name of freedom, justice and the racial conception of law and order. Here and there a more

thoughtful voice reminded us that, in wiping out the last vestiges of Spanish rule—and misrule—in the New World, we were completing the work which Drake, Hawkins and Raleigh began, and vindicating our right to be joint heirs of the men who destroyed the Great Armada and wrested North America from the grasp of a vicious autocracy.

The precise date at which the United States became qualified to rank as one of the Great World Powers is a mooted question. Some might carry it as far back as the War of 1812, or at least to the promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine. Some would connect it with our expansion to the Pacific Coast during the Mexican War. Others would identify the date with the revelation of the inner strength of our federal union by its triumph during the period of Civil War.

Still others would find evidence in the division of Samoa between the United States, Great Britain and Germany in 1889, and for a second time in 1899, an act which Mr. Cleveland in 1894 condemned as our first disregard of Washington's injunction to avoid entangling alliances with foreign powers. Closely connected with this new policy in the Pacific was our annexation of the Hawaiian slands, almost accomplished by President Harrison in February, 1893, promptly revoked by President Cleveland in the following March, and finally declared by President McKinley in 1897.

Not until our war with Spain in the next year did our people as a whole begin to realize the cumulative result of all these enlargements of our sphere of action, and to comprehend what our new duties in the world would be. Some of those who first saw these things clearly were so alarmed by the prospect that they formed an Anti-Imperialist League in order to combat the tendency.

The leaders of public opinion in England, having had more experience than ourselves, more quickly perceived the profound changes in world politics wrought by America's thrust into the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea. British diplomats and statesmen welcomed the change, knowing that manifold common interests no less than the logic of circumstances would be more likely to place and keep America by the side of England than by that of any other great power.

When Germany and Austria-Hungary, scenting danger from afar, tried to induce France, Italy and England to join them in a protest to us and perhaps a threat of intervention against our attack upon Spanish sovereignty in Cuba, it was Great Britain alone that crushed the plot with a flat refusal. The hiss of the German reptile press showed where the snake in the grass was. Bismarck's newspaper organ expressed its disgust that "this notoriously disreputable republic has the assurance to pose as a censor of the morals of European monarchies."

The evidence of British friendship that affected the American people most deeply was furnished by the British fleet in the harbor of Manila. We suspected then—and we now know—the reasons which brought to Manila a German fleet stronger than Dewey's and commanded by an arrogant Junker, who quarreled with our Admiral and gave aid to the Spanish foe.

Dewey sent word to Admiral von Diederich that if he wanted a fight he could have it now.

The German quickly betook himself to the English flagship and asked Captain Chichester if his instructions covered the possible case of hostilities between the German and American squadrons. The reply was affirmative. Von Diederich asked what those instructions were. "There are only two persons here," said the British captain, "who know what my instructions are, one of those persons is myself and the other is—Admiral Dewey." The German knew what that meant, but later when Dewey's fleet started from Cavité to capture the forts at Manila, the German squadron weighed anchor and followed close behind. The British warships thereupon steamed swiftly in between the Americans and the Germans and stopped. The hint was plain and the Germans departed.

Knowledge of all this English friendliness induced among our people an unwonted cordiality in return. During the next year and after, our Government maintained a frankly benevolent neutrality towards England in its struggle with the Boers. When the Boer delegates, unofficially present at the White House, tried to introduce the subject of the war, President McKinley replied by inviting them to admire the beauty of the view from the windows.

Undoubtedly a salient feature of Anglo-American diplomatic relations from Jay's Treaty to the present day has been the use of arbitration, as a method of resolving disputes. The Alabama Arbitration in 1872 was the most dramatic instance of it. The disquiet caused by Cleveland's Venezuela message gave a mighty impetus to Anglo-American popular interest in arbitration. Mr. Cleveland always contended that his strong vindication of the Monroe Doctrine was essential for the maintenance of peace. It is undeniable that from that event there dates a remarkable series of arbitrations and a world-wide agitation in behalf of the principle.

The first effort was a failure. In the winter of 1897, shortly before the Venezuelan boundary was finally referred to arbitration, Secretary Olney and Sir Julian Pauncefote drafted a universal arbitration treaty between England and the United States. The United States Senate did not ratify it, greatly to the disappointment of the more liberal spir-

its on both sides of the ocean. The truth is that this country was not ready for so comprehensive an agreement. American opinion could not endure the possible subjection of the Monroe Doctrine to an alien tribunal. Moreover, the sky was not entirely cleared from the Venezuelan flurry.

The Democratic party, obsessed by Bryan's quixotic vagaries, was imbued with the idea that imperialist England and capitalist Wall Street had combined to crucify the laboring world upon "a cross of gold." Cleveland's administration, which was responsible for the proposed treaty, had become a political anomaly. The few friends it had were chiefly in the camp of the opposing political party.

The wreck of the Democratic party in the presidential election of 1896 resulted in the unbroken ascendancy of the opposing party for sixteen years, 1897 to 1913. One fortunate result of such a long tenure of power was an unusual continuity in our foreign policies. Another fortunate circumstance was the revelation, already mentioned, of friendly sympathy between the peoples of the two nations during the Spanish and Boer wars. To many people in the United States, at least, that revelation was as surprising as it was gratifying.

The good will engendered on both sides of the ocean by these events was translated into diplomatic achievement by a remarkable group of diplomats. As spokesmen for the United States, Hay and Root, Choate and Knox were statesmen whose qualifications were comparable to those of Gallatin and the Adamses. They were well matched with such English associates as Pauncefote, Grey and Bryce.

John Hay, in the autumn of 1898, came from the ambassadorship at London to be Secretary of State for President McKinley. Hay saw, more quickly than most of his countrymen, how the Spanish war had altered our international position, and he approved the change. He realized also that England was the only great power whose sympathies were not openly hostile to us. He had a vision of the benefits that would accrue from the international coöperation of these two peoples, not only to themselves but to the world at large. John Hay was an idealist and saw ethics at the heart of politics. He summed up his view of American diplomacy in a famous sentence, thus: "The briefest expression of our rule of conduct is, perhaps, the Monroe Doctrine and the Golden Rule."

He was almost the only American who understood the aims of the Imperial German clique. Eighteen years ago, during the Boxer trouble, he wrote of "the infamy of an alliance with Germany," and declared that he would rather be the dupe of China than the chum of the Kaiser.

The first aim of Hay's diplomacy was to secure close and friendly

coöperation between England and the United States in international affairs and to remove all possible causes of friction between them. All such causes were reduced to two groups: one, disputes between the United States and British North America, some of long duration but relating chiefly to fisheries, boundaries and trade; the other, difficulties hindering our construction of a transoceanic canal. In the latter problem England and Canada had, each, a primary interest.

English statesmen, especially those of the Liberal party, were eager to meet Secretary Hay half way. Fearful of Germany's vaulting ambition, they turned hopefully, as Canning had done a hundred years earlier, to the New World to redress the balance of the Old. Within their own borders, the obstacles to their success lay not so much in Great Britain as in Canada.

That Dominion had, since 1869, won a large place for itself in the Empire and in the world. The breed of Englishmen who once talked so indifferently about separation from Canada had become extinct. A new generation of English statesmen had arisen, who wished to defer to Canada and who summoned Colonial premiers to imperial conferences.

The task of English diplomacy was to leave with the United States no cause for irritation, and at the same time to convince the Canadians that their interests would not be sacrificed.

On the other hand Hay's chief obstacles to success lay in the convolutions of our party politics. There were, first the extreme Protectionists of his own party, watchful lest the oft-recurring pressure from Canadian Liberals should bring about a breach in our tariff walls; and, second, the lion's tail-twisters, both sincere and sham, whose uproar had been increased somewhat since the events of 1895–6. Hay's frame of mind is sharply expressed in a letter written in 1900 to John W. Foster, thus: "Every Senator I see says, 'For God's sake, don't let it appear we have any understanding with England.' How can I make bricks without straw? That we should be compelled to refuse the assistance of the greatest power in the world, *in carrying out our own policy,* because all Irishmen are Democrats and some Germans are fools—is enough to drive a man mad."

Under these circumstances it is apparent how great a triumph was won by the American and British delegates at the first Hague Conference in 1899. The American delegation headed by Andrew D. White received its instructions from Secretary Hay. The British delegation was led by Sir Julian Pauncefote. These two delegations united in support of a plan sketched by John Hay for the establishment of a permanent tribunal of arbitration, and they won their fight against the opposition, at the outset, of the representatives of Germany. So to Hay

and to Pauncefote, more than to any other two men, the world owes the establishment of the Hague Court of Arbitration, which was the one great achievement of the Hague Conference, and which now has adjudicated fifteen international disputes.

It is not too much to say that only England and the United States in harmony could have wrought this great work. Even while they were doing it, their own last sharp controversy over Venezuela was being peacefully and finally closed by arbitration in Paris. The establishment of an ever ready means for settling peacefully any kind of international difference anywhere in the world was an impressive outcome of Anglo-American coöperation in the first world congress ever held.

At the close of the last century there was no subject that loomed larger upon our commercial, political and financial horizons than that of an Isthmian Canal. Great Britain took a long step towards an era of good feeling when its Government consented to abandon its rights under the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850. That treaty recognized at least an equality of interest of both nations in any isthmian canal, and pledged both of them not to colonize in Central America or to assume dominion over any part of it. That treaty had been regarded by its framers as a mutual assertion of the principle of the Monroe Doctrine. It finally became, in the American view, a principal obstacle to the construction of a canal by us. It prohibited either England or the United States from acquiring exclusive control of any isthmian canal, prohibited the fortification of such a canal, guaranteed the neutralization of the canal and invited other nations to join in the guarantee. To the United States, Government and citizens alike, these restrictions had become increasingly offensive, for every one here agreed that the interoceanic canal must be made and owned by us alone. The outcome of the Spanish War compelled us to adopt and push such a policy for economic as well as for naval and political reasons. Great Britain welcomed us as a neighbor in the Pacific, and was disposed to hasten our full entrance into the circle of world-powers. The Suez Canal was hers. For every reason Great Britain was willing to see the United States dig the one other strategic world canal, for it was clear that the United States would clash with any other power that undertook the task. De Lesseps' failure had made that certain.

Under such circumstances both parties were amicably ready for the new agreements drawn up by John Hay and Lord Pauncefote in final form in 1901, which swept away the restrictions to which we had objected. We were thereby set free to acquire territory in Central America, if we could, and free to dig, own and defend an interoceanic canal. But our diplomats and statesmen left in the Hay-Pauncefote

Treaty two sources of possible future trouble. One is an agreement that the canal tolls shall be absolutely uniform, an agreement which prevents us from granting favors to our shipping in our own canal. By reason of this promise, President Wilson and Congress in 1914, faced by a protest from Great Britain and Canada, were constrained to repeal a Federal statute which conflicted with this item in the treaty.

We naturally could not afford to place ourselves, in 1914, under the reproach of turning a treaty into "a scrap of paper." The other doubtful spot in the treaty is a curious inconsistency. We promised not to blockade the canal, although we have fortified it. If any nation at war with us tried to use the canal even in conformity with the rules defined in the treaty, it is likely that we would promptly disregard that promise. The simple truth is that England owns the Suez Canal and the United States owns the Panama Canal, and neither power intends to permit its canal to be used by its enemies in time of war. It would seem to be better to use no screens of neutralization until there is an international power which can make neutralization effective.

A joint commission met at Quebec and Washington in 1898–99, and began the work of clearing away a tangle of questions at issue between the United States and Canada. There were no less than ten roots to the tangle: Boundary questions among which the Alaskan boundary was most important, navigation rules on the Great Lakes, wreckage and salvage, the North Atlantic fisheries, seal-hunting in the Pacific, treatment of goods in transit, treatment of criminals, alien labor especially Chinese immigration or importation, mining rights and reciprocity.

The conferences of the joint commission terminated in a deadlock, caused chiefly by the Alaskan difficulty, but the negotiations went on under other forms to a final decision by another joint commission in 1903. The American contention was sustained by the action of the one English commissioner, who voted with our three delegates against two Canadians. His vote should be attributed to policy rather than to conviction, for his Government, already aware of German ambitions, was quite unwilling to prolong indefinitely, for the remote benefit of British North America, a hopeless head-on collision with the United States. His Canadian colleagues and the people whom they represented were not reconciled to his action, but of course further discussion was futile.

Thus was laid to rest the last serious difference over a boundary line nearly four thousand miles long, extending from the Bay of Fundy to the Arctic Ocean. One more dispute, not serious in character, concerning the location of the line in Passamaquoddy Bay, was disposed of by arbitration in 1911. This long transcontinental frontier, almost every yard of which has been in dispute, but which has been finally determined by

arbitration or peaceful agreement, is in itself a witness to the good sense which time and patience have evoked in Anglo-American relations. The last possible step was taken in 1908 when Messrs. Bryce and Root concluded a convention for verifying and remarking the line from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

That year of 1908 is called by Prof. Dunning the *"annus mirabilis* of diplomatic achievement."

In addition to the agreement just described, the same negotiators settled questions concerning reciprocal rights of transit for American and Canadian officers with prisoners in custody, and concerning aid to disabled mariners of either nationality on the Great Lakes without contravening antiquated maritime laws.

Of the other conventions that marked this period, the most significant was the arbitration treaty of 1908, an agreement related in spirit to the influence exerted upon English speaking peoples by the second Hague Conference of the previous year. The treaty provided that any Anglo-American dispute concerning the interpretation of a treaty should, with the approval of the necessary constitutional authorities, be referred to the Hague Tribunal of Arbitration. With the treaty went an agreement specifically making such a reference of the provisions of the Anglo-American Convention of 1818.

The intention was to provide a safe and sane method of settling the century-long controversy over the Atlantic fisheries. This controversy which, since 1904, had waxed most acute between Newfoundland and the United States was argued in 1910, before selected members of the Hague Tribunal, sitting as an international fisheries commission. The decision upon seven mooted points was so wisely and fairly framed that all parties accepted it without reserve, and there is apparently no danger of a renewal of the old frictions.

The kindred question of seal hunting in the Alaskan waters over which bitter controversy had been waged intermittently since 1870, was not settled until the seals were almost exterminated. Unfortunately, diplomacy was too dilatory and confused to protect the herds, but at least it finally reached an amicable agreement in 1911 upon the principles of regulation, in a treaty establishing joint responsibility of the four nations involved, and prohibiting pelagic hunting for a term of years.

President Taft singled out the arbitral settlement of the disputes over the Alabama Claims, the Seal-hunting and the Newfoundland fisheries[1] as the three most substantial steps toward a permanent Anglo-American peace.

[1]The Arbitration Treaty of 1908, under which this fishery question was settled, was renewed in 1913 and again in 1918.

No less fundamental, in my judgment, was the treaty respecting boundary waters between the United States and Canada, which was negotiated by Messrs. Root and Bryce in 1909 and ratified in the following year. This waterways treaty is the complement of the Agreement of 1817. It is a complete charter of peace with justice under law for the Great Lakes and for all other boundary waters on our Northern frontiers.

Besides assuring mutual rights of free navigation it creates an International Joint Commission of three members from each country with power to decide all questions concerning "the use or obstruction or diversion of boundary waters," and then, going much further than that, authorizes the Commission, upon request from either the United States or Canada, to investigate and to decide any "questions or matters of difference arising between the United States and Canada along their common frontier."

Its decision in such cases is to be final. English speaking North America can thus, if it wishes, settle its own disputes with no external intervention—not even from England itself. The attempt of President Taft's administration to embody the same principle in a general arbitration treaty with England in 1911 was wrecked by the opposition of our Senate, but the waterways treaty has provided a ready means of peaceable solutions for disputes with Canada, wherein has lain heretofore the greatest danger of troublesome difficulties with England.

Of the ten or more roots of difference with Canada that Secretary Hay in 1898 hoped to remove, only three have not been rendered harmless, and they are not at present troublesome. These are questions concerning mining rights, concerning the movement of alien laborers, and concerning tariffs. The growing power of the sentiment of Canadian nationality has twice somewhat violently rejected a policy of commercial union with the United States, once in 1891, as an answer to the McKinley tariff of 1890, and again in 1912 when for the first time since 1854, the United States offered to Canada a real measure of reciprocity. But Champ Clark and others on this side of the line talked foolishly of ultimate annexation and our manifest destiny. The result was that Canadian loyalty arose and buried the suggestion of annexation and the Liberal party under an avalanche of votes. But so complete has the self-government of the Dominion become that these events cast no shadow upon our relations with Great Britain.

So matters stood when the German Kaiser began his war for world dominion, and England, plunging in to save the world from the new Napoleon, looked hopefully to us for sympathy and aid. Her mighty

war-fleet swept the German flag from the seven seas, and began such a blockade of the Central Powers as the world never before saw.

Coincident with the beginning of the war, was launched a vast pro-German propaganda to win the support of the United States, or at least to keep us neutral, and above all to encourage suspicion of England's motives in the war and to nourish animosities against her. Placing Ambassador Von Bernstorff in secret direction of this propaganda with apparently unlimited money at his command, the German Government hoped to use us as a club to break England's stranglehold upon German commerce, and at the same time to create such a disintegration of morale in this country as to leave it helpless at the feet of Germany after the rest of the world was conquered. The awful truth is that this propaganda of demoralization, like that which subsequently ruined Russia, almost succeeded here.

Our Government was soon involved with England in a correspondence of protest over the rules and methods of blockade, and too many Americans seemed willing to take the arrogance and brutality of the German methods of warfare with no more vigorous resistance. The fires of Irish hostility to Great Britain were rekindled into a great conflagration, and every effort was made to revive the traditions of Colonial animosity. To this end also whatever influence the Hearst newspapers possessed was steadily exerted.

For a long time, England, as it seems to me, unwisely, conducted no counter propaganda against this campaign of demoralization. The result was that for two years and a half England and France had the defense of our liberties as well as their own, and we took no active part. They and the other Allies gave their blood and treasure in a war forced upon them by a military and feudal tyranny which was at the same time sinking our ships without notice, murdering our citizens, even women and children, and presuming to give us orders where, when and how we might use the high seas without being killed by submarines. We meanwhile were reëlecting a President because "He kept us out of war." The Huns thought they were safe in pushing their submarine warfare to its most ruthless extremity.

And then the heirs of the men of Bunker Hill and Kings Mountain awoke and overwhelmed the pro-German, ultra-pacifist, defeatist, anti-English advocates. The President stood forth, like a new Jefferson, the prophet of a greater democracy, of a Monroe Doctrine for the world. Government and people began to move and march together in the same spirit that triumphed at Marston Moor and Naseby, at Saratoga and Yorktown, all English battles in which our liberties were won.

And so in April, 1917, the United States marched into the place where it belonged, and opened a new chapter of Anglo-American unity which shall, please God! be a long one.

The bonds which now hold the United States and England together are not diplomatic. We have signed no treaty. We are not members of the Entente. We are technically cobelligerents rather than allies. But the alliance between us is stronger than most of those made by treaty, because it is the outcome of identical emotions in peoples who are thinking the same thoughts and are cherishing the same ideals of democracy, justice and liberty. For this reason it has been easy for us, since we entered the war to do almost incredible things, to place our naval power under the virtual control of the English Admiralty, to join with England in putting our armies under the command of a Frenchman, to join with England and her allies in the common control of the financial credit, the food, the transportation facilities, the war supplies and the raw materials of practically the whole world. That England and the United States are together the most powerful members of this vast yet close alliance is undeniable. The harmony between us could scarcely have been greater if George III had never meddled with our ancient English liberties and we had never separated from the Motherland. Together we shall share in the victory. Together we must labor for the reconstruction of the world-order. If we are wise, we will support and reinforce each other in the effort to widen our agreements into a greater unity among the nations leagued together to maintain peace with justice under law. Great Britain is now the center of a great empire which is steadily developing towards democracy. The United States is the product of a simple plain democracy which is acquiring a great empire. The English-speaking nations have no monopoly of democracy in the world, but they have reached a plane of mutual accord, of fraternity in culture, in political purposes and ethical judgments, in economic and commercial conditions, in progress and hope for the future.

This like-mindedness makes them in a peculiar sense the hope of the world, if they will use their power in unity for the welfare of all peoples, rather than for selfish and exclusively national advantage. The British Empire is already one league of nations. The United States is another. Nowhere else in the world are there such successful examples of local self-government reconciled with strong central powers. The duty, the problem, the privilege of our statesmen is to hold these two mighty empires in harmonious action to create and maintain everywhere in the world, as Wilson has said, "a reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and supported by the organized opinion of mankind."

By a happy thought, the President elsewhere characterized the underlying principle of this utterance as " a Monroe Doctrine for the world." The two powers most concerned with the earliest promulgation of the Monroe Doctrine are also the powers on whom this latest daring expansion of it must chiefly depend.

It is a counsel of perfection not easily to be translated into deeds. The practical difficulties that hinder its realization are, some of them, within our own boundaries. But there is much to be thankful for. At a moment when all sources of dissension between Great Britain and the United States had been eliminated, these kindred peoples have been welded together in the heat of a terrible war in support of a righteous cause, and of the noblest ideals for which men can contend. Anglo-American relations can retain and perfect, if the people are wise enough to will it, this union in fact tho not in name. May it never be broken!

Social and Political Ideals of the English-Speaking Peoples

By George Armstrong Wauchope
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As a citizen of South Carolina I count it a privilege to address this representative body of citizens of North Carolina on this occasion of international interest. We of the old Palmetto State are proud of the history of the Old North State, her twin-sister commonwealth. We know your glorious past, we are in touch with your present, we are confident of the greater future which awaits you. The destinies of the two Carolinas in the American family of states shall never be divided. "Our hearts, our hopes, our fears are one!"

It was indeed a timely and happy thought of your society to make the tercentenary commemoration of the life and services of Sir Walter Raleigh the occasion for a mutual study of Anglo-American relations. To us in America, I trust, the conference will take on the nature of a celebration of the spiritual reunion and solidarity of the two greatest English-speaking nations. One of the assets of the world war already realized is the rapprochement and alliance of Great Britain and the United States. This understanding so long and devoutly wished for is moral as well as military, spiritual as well as economic. Due to the similarity of English and American ideals and institutions it was inevitable, no doubt, but has been hastened by the pressure of external circumstances. These are times that try as by fire the inner character, the very souls of nations. War is a just revealer of a people's higher ideals as well as their baser instincts. By their fruits ye shall know them. It is meet and proper, therefore, that we should take stock of our common ideals, and make a survey of those spiritual values, of those unseen imponderables, of our national characters, in a word, of which our literatures and governments, our commerce and industries, our armies and navies are but the outward shows and living symbols. Behind all these are the great ideals, the eternal realities.

In the past we had our regretable but inevitable family quarrel but for over a hundred years we have been generally in harmony, as Charles Lamb said of his domestic relations, with occasional bickerings, as it should be among near relations. But despite that first angry 4th of July when the wilful young America, having become of age, declared her intention to be no longer "daughter in her mother's house, but mistress in her own," we both have felt in our blood those ties of race and tongue never to be broken nor forgotten which shall unite us

for better for worse forever. Even when we seemed fartherest apart, the wisest statesmen of both lands, Burke and Jefferson, Pitt and Franklin were fighting for the same great principles of free government. It is significant that we Americans never speak of English literature as foreign, and some authorities aver that we have never felt it necessary to draw up a literary declaration of independence. The status of our intellectual relations is, however, a mooted question and a subject of much bantering in the family circle.

There has never been a time when a mutual understanding of our two nations was so vital to the safety of ourselves, and of our world. It behooves us, therefore, to remind each other of those ideals which lie at the heart of all our social and political thinking. We find, of course, the best expression of our ideals in the literatures and great state papers of our English-speaking peoples. A national ideal I would define as a great principle of character or action touched with enthusiasm; it is a whole people's aspiration in process of realization, a dream of what they would be or achieve. A nation's reach, too, should exceed its grasp, for where there is no vision the people perish.

A casual glance at any of the past masters of our mother tongue will reveal the germ of many an ideal of that ancestral England and Scotland, which Britons and Americans still think worth fighting for. In Beowulf, the noblest saga of prehistoric Saxon life, the Scop glorifies the virtues of manly courage, patriotic service, deathless loyalty, and reverence for woman. In that jewel of medieval literature, The Green Knight, we see emblazoned on Sir Gawain's shield in a mystic Pentangle of red and gold five watchwords of chivalry—frankness, fellowship, purity, courtesy, and compassion "that surpasses all," a pentelogy of virtues that would serve as an excellent code of conduct between man and man in the modern world. In his Piers Plowman Langland, the gaunt shepherd of Malvern Hills, preached the equality of men and the dignity of labor with much of the sincerity and fiery appeal to the conscience which characterized Carlyle's strenuous gospel of work five centuries later. The ideal gentleman of the 14th century, according to Dan Chaucer, was a widely traveled English Knight who "lovede chivalrie, trouthe and honour, fredom and curteisie," a category of heroic ideals that has since informed the souls of Sidney and Washington, of Gordon and Robert E. Lee, and a thousand worthies of English breed, whose stock is not yet extinct. In the councils of state at London and Washington, on the high seas, and in the armies of Haig and Pershing today may be found their peers, gentlemen unafraid, worthy to sit in the Siege Perilous at the Table Round with all knightly souls.

Let us not forget that the entire treasury of English literature before 1607 is as completely the heritage of us in America, the oldest and greatest of the many new Englands that belt the seven seas, as it is of our kinsmen who dwell in the thrice-blessed isle. Among these family riches is Sir Thomas More's Utopia, that prophetic manual of the New Learning, pregnant with the ideals of the far-scattered new England of the 20th century, each populated by a happy, prosperous citizenry, simple in manners, tolerant in religion, and democratic in government. Precious as a jeweled casket is Spenser's Faerie Queene, another still more beautiful dream of an England not made with hands, whose knights-errant and ladies fair embody the moral ideals of the Renaissance—holiness, temperance, chastity, friendship, justice, and courtesy—the public and private virtues to be cultivated by the model citizen in his relations to his God, to himself, his neighbor, and his state.

The world-wisdom of the deep-browed Verulam, before whose searching eyes all knowledge unrolled her ample page rich with the spoils of time, is ours too; and that chief legacy of our language, bought with the tears, and prayers, and blood of millions, the King James Bible, our supreme literary masterpiece of translation, which more than all other spiritual forces has molded the lives and characters of the English-speaking peoples.

We have always proudly said "our Shakspere" too, but since the war we have read him with a new understanding and sympathy as we watched "that dear, dear land" he loved and praised fighting again on the trenched fields of France like Bellona lapped in proof. In his ten historical plays he so voices the militant patriotism of our day that many passages could be used effectively on recruiting posters. It would be difficult to find a quotation surer to kindle the fighting spirit of slackers than the speech of King Henry V before the battle of Harfleur:

> Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more;
> Or close the wall up with our English dead!—
> Now set the teeth, and stretch the nostril wide;
> Hold hard the breath, and bend up every spirit
> To his full height! On, on, you noblest English!
> Whose blood is fet from fathers of war-proof . . .
> Be copy now to men of grosser blood,
> And teach them how to war. And you, good yeomen,
> Whose limbs were made in England, show us here
> The mettle of your pasture . . .
> I see you stand like greyhounds in the slips,
> Straining upon the start. The game's afoot!
> Follow your spirit; and upon this charge,
> Cry—God for Harry, England, and Saint George!

In a more quiet mood but no less heartening and democratic is his address to his men before Agincourt:

> This day is called the feast of Crispian:
> He that outlives this day, and comes safe home,
> Will stand a tip-toe when this day is named, . . .
> Will yearly on the vigil feast his neighbors,
> And say,—Tomorrow is Saint Crispian:
> Then will he strip his sleeve, and show his scars . . .
> This story shall the good man teach his son,
> And Crispin Crispian shall ne'er go by,
> From this day to the ending of the world,
> But we in it shall be remembered;
> We few, we happy few, we band of brothers:
> For he today that sheds his blood with me
> Shall be my brother; be he ne'er so vile,
> This day shall gentle his condition:
> And gentlemen in England, now a-bed,
> Shall think themselves acursed, they were not here,
> And hold their manhoods cheap, whiles any speaks
> That fought with us upon Saint Crispin's day.

Again in the defiant challenge of Philip Falconbridge in King John we hear the invincible voice of England that rang out once more as she sent her sons to meet the Hun across the shell-swept fields of Mons and Ypres:

> This England never did, nor never shall,
> Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror . . .
> Come the three corners of the world in arms,
> And we shall shock them. Naught shall make us rue,
> If England to itself do rest but true.

As we read such brave, soul-revealing words, we realize that it was of Shakspere the patriot Wordsworth was thinking when he wrote:

> We must be free or die who speak the tongue
> That Shakspere spoke, the faith and morals hold
> That Milton held.

Milton was our first great champion of the ideal of republican liberty. Constantly throughout all his poems and prose writings peals the solemn note as loud and clear as that in Philadelphia one hundred and thirty-two years later, proclaiming "liberty throughout the land unto all the inhabitants thereof." The classic sentence in Areopagitica is a picture of England in 1914: "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks; methinks I see her as an eagle muing her

mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam." While on a literary pilgrimage to Horton I observed in the little chapel a window bearing the Milton coat of arms, on which was a great eagle with outspread wings. It struck me as significant that the eagle of the Areopagitica was the same imperial bird on the great seal of the United States. During this period Milton wrote to a college friend, "I am pluming my wings for a flight." The symbol of the eagle was not only a favorite but an appropriate one with the poet who was to soar on strong, swift pinions "the secrets of the abyss to spy."

Milton's name has been one to conjure with wherever and whenever the cause of popular government was at stake. In 1802 at a time of national decadence, peril, and anxiety Wordsworth invoked the mighty shade of Milton to brace the moral fiber of his people:

> Milton! thou shouldst be living at this hour;
> England hath need of thee: she is a fen
> Of stagnant waters; altar, sword, and pen,
> Fireside, the heroic wealth of hall and bower,
> Have forfeited their ancient English dower
> Of inward happiness. We are selfish men:
> Oh raise us up, return to us again;
> And give us manners, virtue, freedom, power.

I find in this last, massive line, "Give us manners, virtue, freedom, power," the most succinct summary in our literature of the great ideals of the English-speaking peoples. I believe that in these four key-words properly interpreted we have a condensation of all our heritage of idealism with its rich accumulation of a thousand years. Here in epitome is all that has been contributed by the Celt with his romantic individualism, by the Anglo-Saxon and Dane with their passion for liberty, nonconformity, democracy, and industrialism, and by the Norman with his aristocratic institutionalism, his Latin love of law and order. They come to us overflowing with the fuller meaning poured into them by the Puritan with his devotion to righteousness, and by the Cavalier with his exquisite contribution to culture.

Let us then for a little while study this tetralogy of the ideals of our race with special reference to their influence upon the national aims and destinies of Great Britain and America, and in contrast with the accursed fruits of German Kultur.

"Manners" or Noblesse Oblige

I. "Manners." The first of Wordsworth's four great words is a homely Saxon one, "manners." In the poet's mind it held, no doubt, the richer content of the Latin *mores,* morals, customs, conduct, charac-

ter. It implies broadly also the idea of culture, of social good manners, and the spirit of fair play. Here is an important because fundamental ideal, which is ethical as well as social, for which Milton's great name and noble character stood as a slogan. The men of English speech have long been recognized as the world's best sportsmen. Whether it be cricket or baseball, boating or football, polo or tennis, they have insisted on playing a clean game. They have carefully fostered the spirit of play, the immense communal and moral value of which the world is beginning to realize. Consequently, the manly sports have thrived among all those of Anglo-Norman blood, the girls sharing with their brothers in the benefits. Not having these national games to establish standards of honor in competitions the Germans have not been taught from boyhood to feel the meanness and the tarnish of a crooked victory. Consequently, they resort to all sorts of foul play; they take every unfair advantage. The war with them has been throughout like a football game in which the two teams were not properly matched. Their use of the U-boat, for example, is not merely piracy, a violation of international law; it is a moral crime against fair play. They have habitually left our sailors to drown after attack by submarines; they have even fired on boats filled with helpless women and children. This is the spirit which animated the most Prussian character in Shakspere's imaginary world, Iago, who said: "Kill men in the dark! Where be these bloody thieves?" Professor Sir Walter Raleigh, of Oxford, said in a recent address to the Royal Colonial Institute that he asked a good German scholar what is the German word for fair play. He replied as they do in Parliament, that he must ask for notice of that question. "I fear," he said, "there is no German word for fair play."

The Miltonic ideal of manners finds its counterpart in the Prussian ideal of Kultur. "The manners of liberty," says a French proverb, "can never be the manners of absolutism." Over against the English regard for the rights of property and for the sacredness of human life must be set the Hun's murderous doctrine of frightfulness, his inhuman brutality, and fiendish delight in wholesale and systematic destruction of property. The Englishman observes the rights of small nationalities, and respects treaties as a matter of national honor. The Prussian shows his contempt for treaties as mere scraps of paper, and holds the little outraged countries of Europe as pawns in his Mephistophilean game of chess. Mr. Otto H. Kahn, a native of Germany, testifies to the sinister effects of Kultur upon the national character. Admitting that it has given them unparalleled prosperity, scientific progress, and intellectual leadership, he declares it has taken in payment the soul of the race. It has made a devil's bargain, after fostering in them an unquestioning

faith in their government, and a slavish docility to their rulers, and at last it has completely debauched their minds with the lust of world dominion.

From such a sowing the red harvest reaped by Europe since 1914 was inevitable, and Germany stands today convicted by the verdict of mankind as the arch-criminal. We charge her with the violation of her solemn treaty obligations; with the sinking of passenger ships without warning, and celebrating these infamies by medals and public holidays; with the destruction of unarmed hospital vessels filled with helpless wounded and Red Cross nurses; with the wanton demolition of cathedrals and their priceless works of art; with the shelling of churches crowded with Easter worshipers with the spoilation of conquered territory, and the deportation and enslavement of civilians; with the crucifixion, mutilation, and starvation of prisoners of war; with the illegal use of submarines as ships of murder; with the employment of poison gases, tear bombs, and liquid fire, which gain no military end but inflict excrutiating torture comparable to the scalping and burning at the stake by savages; and finally with the degrading of the sacred relation of motherhood by bestial violence. Across this fearful category of criminality, verified by documentary evidence collected by Viscount Bryce and other reliable authorities, history will write the damning trademark: "Made in Germany." The allied armies and navies are fighting to destroy this false and hideous idol of Kultur, and to erect in its stead a fair temple of true culture in which men may seek and find whatsoever things are of good report, and make reason and the will of God prevail.

In the conception of "manners" we may include, I think, one of the indispensable virtues of a people in time of war, *morale.* The strength of an army depends upon its morale. Without this *esprit de corps.* the child of discipline, this temper of the soul as hard as steel, an individual may become in the hour of peril as a leaf in a storm, a regiment a panic-stricken mob. Its supreme importance as a factor in winning the war is seen in the estimate placed by our high officials on the work and influence of the Young Men's Christian Association and similar organizations, of the Red Cross, the army chaplains, the song leaders, and athletic directors. The campaign against vice, the careful conservation of the health of the men, the operation of libraries, community houses, moving-picture theaters, and lyceums with concerts and inspiring addresses, are all agencies in the interest of morale, which among our soldiers is said to be the highest of any army in the world. Our splendid system of training is literally making over 4,000,000 of our boys, many of whom were dyspeptic, stoop-shouldered, and hollow-chested, into

perfect specimens of vigorous manhood. Happy will it be for the next generation to have such fathers! They have already brought upon the battlefields of France a contagious enthusiasm and irresistible dash with which we have long been familiar on the football gridiron, a distinctive contribution of the Yanks.

Professor Humphreys, of Virginia, recalls a remark made to him by General Robert E. Lee in regard to the value of military training: "Just once it was my lot to receive a severe rebuke from General Lee. While I was an undergraduate my health seemed to become impaired, and he had a conversation with me about it, in which he expressed the opinion that I was working too hard. I replied: 'I am so impatient to make up the time I lost in the army'—I got no further. General Lee flushed and exclaimed in an almost angry tone: 'Mr. Humphreys, however long you live, and whatever you accomplish, you will find that the time you spent in the Confederate Army was the most profitably spent portion of your life. Never again speak of having lost time in the army.' And I never again did."

"Virtue" the Ideal of Strength

II. "Virtue." The second great national ideal for which Milton stood was "virtue," the word implying in its original Latin sense manly purity, worth, and strength of character. In the volcanic flames of the present war the outstanding virtues of our English-speaking peoples have stood out clearly revealed as in letters of fire. In its awful light four cardinal virtues have been especially conspicuous, strength, honor, friendship, and humanity, each representing a racial ideal which men of English stock prize above rubies.

1. *Strength.* The first of these virtues is strength of character. In the armies of Cromwell and Wellington, of Roberts and Kitchener, of Lee and Grant, it was the winning quality. Napoleon, an excellent judge of fighting men, paid tribute to the bulldog tenacity and leonine valor of the British, who never knew when they were beaten or wouldn't stay whipped. In one strong line in Ulysses Tennyson gave perfect expression to this indomitable spirit of his race, their determination

> To strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield

in whatever they undertake. This is the English temperament, exemplified in the world of discovery by Sir John Franklin, Livingstone, Stanley, Scott, and Peary; in invention by Stevenson, Fulton, Whitney, Morse, Bell, Edison, and the Wrights; in science by Darwin, Tyndale, Huxley, and Burbank; in the realm of art by Reynolds and Turner,

Shakspere and Browning, Scott and Carlyle, and countless stars of equal magnitude. The idea has been recoined in the inspiring war-cry of our Canadian cousins, "Carry on!" From the day of the stubborn retreat of Sir John French's outnumbered but invincible little army from Mons every soldier from Field Marshal to private felt his nation's will to victory; and the high tide of the war was reached and turned on that glorious day at Chateau Thierry when our own dear boys in khaki met the impetuous onset of the victorious Prussian Guards and hurled them back in bloody retreat.

2. *Honor.* A second conspicuous quality of the men of English speech exhibited no less in warfare than in diplomacy is their sense of personal and public honor. The Saxon has a conviction of the fundamental necessity of sincerity, of utter truthfulness that makes him the eternal foe of hypocrisy. The life-lie cannot live in the white light of this ideal, which like the lightning's sword clarifies and purifies the social and political atmosphere. Honesty is the best policy, may be an English proverb, though it sounds good enough to have come out of Holy Writ. The secret and dishonest diplomacy of the Central Powers was largely responsible for the war, which should have been prevented by a frank and friendly exchange of views with the people taken into the confidence of their responsible officials. As it transpired, two or three militaristic autocrats criminally plunged the world into a war that has cost at least ten million human lives and more than one hundred billion dollars with an untold Iliad of woes following in its train. Great Britain and the United States have nothing in their diplomacy prior to their entering the struggle or since to conceal or to be ashamed of. Our wise and gifted President has in his immortal state papers set for all time a new and higher standard for diplomatic correspondence. The violation of the neutrality of Belgium and of Serbia's sovereignty were questions of national and international honor with but one answer possible to the English people. We did not draw the sword until we were convinced by sad facts of Germany's hostility and treachery. The hypocritical and lying diplomacy of Kaiser Wilhelm and his spokesmen has been exposed in the private memorandum of Prince Lichnowsky, the German ambassador in London in 1914, who wrote: "We deliberately destroyed the possibility of a peaceful settlement. . . . The whole civilized world outside of Germany attributes to us the sole guilt for the World War. Given good will, everything could have been settled. A hint from Berlin would have been enough to influence Austria to accept Serbia's reply to her demands; but the hint was not given. On the contrary, Germany pressed for war. Germany insisted on war."

Germany thus stands convicted by her own witness, and the testimony will stand till Doomsday. This statesmen knew the truth, and loved honor so that he was not afraid to be branded with the abhorred name of traitor. Through him spoke the stifled voice of the Teuton conscience.

The attitude of Germany to America has been hypocritical and treacherous from the first. From August, 1914, till our entry into the war in April, 1917, she plotted against American industry, hiring spies to blow up our factories and committing arson by wholesale. While enjoying our hospitality, the German embassy organized secret attacks against us, and tried to embroil us with Mexico and Japan. She solemnly promised to refrain from sinking our ships, only to gain time to build more submarines for piratical purposes. The whole story of Teuton diplomacy, like their barbarous methods of warfare, has been one of duplicity and bad faith. We were forced into the conflict to maintain our self-respect as well as for altruistic reasons.

3. *Friendship.* A third trait of all English-speaking folk is their feeling of kinship and tribal affection for one another, and an ardent desire for relations of brotherly friendship with other peoples. Ours are Christian nations, which have written into their constitutions the doctrine of peace on earth to men of good will. The primary purpose of this war is to enthrone freedom and justice among the nations small and large; but its second avowed aim is to establish an enduring peace. It is the first, and we trust, the last war against war.

One of the chief compensations of the war is that it has not only unmasked our most dangerous enemy, but it has also revealed the nation with which we should be allied in closest friendship. It has providentially closed the century-old breach in our English-speaking family and restored, let us hope, for all time mutual trust, good will, and coöperation. When we took up the fight against Germany, many people in our country felt an unreasoning antagonism against England, which was due for the most part to the traditional prejudice inherited from the Revolution. The governing class in America, with few exceptions, are of English or Scotch-Irish descent, and love the old Mother Country next to their fatherland. We, as a people, can never be unconscious of the historic fivefold debt which we owe to dear old England for our race, our language, our religion, our literature, and our government. Today, thank God, it is "hands across the sea" once more, and a brotherly comradeship in arms, that closest of bonds between men, to make us one. We have formed a spiritual reunion for the good of all mankind. Thus has been realized one of the ideals longed for and worked for by

many on both sides of the Atlantic. In a conversation which I once had with Dr. Parkin, director of the Rhodes Scholarships to Oxford, in regard to the deeper purposes of that magnanimous foundation, he told me that it was a far-seeing plan of one of England's wisest empire-builders to bring about, through the intimate ties of college fellowship, personal friendships and mutual understanding between the men who are to guide the destinies of these two great nations.

Mr. Alfred Noyes, the very popular English poet, whom we have been trying for several years to adopt as an American professor, made a notable address on last July 4th at the dedication of a monument to the British and American soldiers who fell at Princeton. In a striking historical statement he emphasized "what should be the central thought of the English-speaking world on every Fourth of July throughout the future, namely, that the Revolutionary War was an earlier phase of the war of today. It was a war of our Englishman, George Washington, against a German king. When Chatham attacked the war against the English colonists in America as 'a most barbarous, cruel, unjust, and diabolical war,' when he said, 'If I were an American as I am an Englishman, I would never lay down my arms while a foreign troop was landed in my country,' he was not alluding to his own countrymen but to the German troops, the 20,000 Hessians whom the German king had been forced to hire, because Englishmen had refused to do his dirty work."

This great democratic empire has been the best friend America has ever had. She was the strong protector of the infant colonies; she was the cause of our salvation in 1803; she was generous in the peace terms of 1812; she sustained the Monroe doctrine in 1823; her fleet stood by Dewey at Manila in 1898 when the German admiral threatened us; the Canadian frontier of 5,000 miles has stood unfortified for a century, a perpetual memorial that there is no middle wall of partition between us. We be brethren. Today sixty per cent of our boys are being convoyed overseas under the Union Jack. All England celebrated our last Fourth of July, "a noble, sacramental act," says Mr. Winston Spencer Churchill, which visualized the harmony which exists between the spirit and language of the Declaration of Independence and all we are fighting for now. Deep in the hearts of the people of these islands is the desire to be truly reconciled to their kindred across the Atlantic, to blot out the reproaches and redeem the blunders of a bygone age and dwell once more in spirit with them. That was the heart's desire which seemed utterly unattainable, but which has been granted. Be the years of the struggle never so long, never so cruel, that will make amends for all. That is Great Britain's reward."

Gigantic daughter of the West,
We drink to thee across the flood,
We know thee most, we love thee best,
For are not thou of British blood?
Hands all 'round!
God the tyrant's cause confound,
To our great kinsmen of the West, my friend,
And the great cause of freedom
Round and round.

Lord Derby, the first British ambassador to attend a commemoration of our independence, speaking in lighter vein said at a dinner in Paris, "As in the days of my youth a teacher spanked me, saying, you will thank me later for this, I say now that I wish to thank America for the best licking we ever got. It has done us both a lot of good. We are grateful to you because that licking taught us how to treat our children; it is the reason why we now have Australia and Canada, and even South Africa, fighting beside us today." In such generous and noble words, which could be multiplied a thousand fold, breathes the sincere friendship of England for her eldest daughter, who returns it with wholehearted love and trust. The magnaminity of England in this war, worthy of her epic history of a thousand years, will endear her forever to all her children of the unexhausted West, "out of the cradle endlessly rocking." Over a year before we joined her in arms (Feb. 27, 1916) William Winter voiced the thought of "millions of hearts that beat like mine":

My England! not my native land,
But dear to me as if she were,—
How often have I longed to stand
With those brave hearts who fight for her!

Mother of Freedom! Pledged to right!
From Honor's path she would not stray,
But, sternly faithful, used her might
To lead mankind the nobler way.

Today be all her faults forgot,—
The errors of her nascent prime,
Or wily politician's plot,
Or blunder that was almost crime.

Today, when desperate tyrants strain,
By Greed and Fear, and Hate combined,
To blast her power and rend her reign,
She fights the fight of all mankind.

4. *Humanity.* The last of the four cardinal virtues of the Anglo-American suggested and emphasized by his behavior in the midst of the reek and mad passions of war is his humanity. The quality of mercy which characterizes the English-speaking peoples presents again an utter antithesis to the pagan brutality of the Hun. The average German citizen in times of peace was perhaps as humane and kind-hearted as our people, and far more sentimental. What makes the difference is that he has made the state or its figurehead, the Kaiser, his god. It is this false political creed that has caused the erstwhile quiet, decent Prussian to become an agent of frightfulness. He burns, rapes, mutilates, nails men to barn doors, spits babies on his bayonet, sinks the Lusitania and sings Te Deums, because forsooth his All-highest has taken the place of his Maker in his allegiance, and commands him to strike terror into the hearts of his enemies. Pity and humanity are to him pale and ineffectual theories against which he must harden his heart. His superman is above all standards of morality, and must be obeyed. He has been told that the English are hypocritical worshipers of mammon, land-grabbers, who are out to steal his colonies and dominate the trade and money-markets of the world. He cannot grasp the motives that have impelled America to enter the war. He believes that we have been hoodwinked into fighting by our capitalists, munition manufacturers, and the military lobby in Washington. He judges us by himself, for that is the way matters have been manipulated in Berlin. The rigid censorship has carefully kept from his eyes the speeches of Premier Lloyd George and President Wilson, which have set forth clearly what we are fighting for. To his war-lords, the Hohenzollerns, obsessed with the ignis fatuus of world-empire, men are useful as cannon-fodder, women as breeders of soldiers. The state is supreme. To maintain their abhorred dynasty, the Kaiser and the Crown Prince have sent hectatombs of the best German manhood to useless death. The colossal and heartless egotism of Emperor Wilhelm is shown in the insolent letter which he had his secretary send to a stricken mother who had lost all her seven sons in the army, in which he coldly expressed his gratification at her loyalty and devotion to His Imperial Majesty. By way of contrast we should read the tenderly sympathetic letters of Abraham Lincoln and Mr. Wilson, written to bereaved mothers under similar circumstances. Like Parsifal, who came to redeem the Knights of the Holy Grail and lead them to liberty and victory, these great American commoners were "made wise through pity."

The President has spoken of our soldiers overseas as Pershing's Crusaders. This war of nations and of ideals may, in fact, be properly called the last and greatest of the Crusades. One of the strangest

things about it is its pronounced religious aspect. The conflict is essentially spiritual. Not since the preaching of St. Bernard until the present have civilians at home and marching armies been so profoundly imbued with the spirit of the historic battle-cry of Christendom, "It is the will of God!" Every soldier in the trenches, every worker in shipyard or powder plant, knows that he is fighting for the holy cause of truth, and righteousness, and brotherhood among men, ideals that came into the world with the New Testament, and for which the sons of men have always gladly died.

Mr. William T. Ellis, a competent observer of army life abroad, records his impression of this new spirit among our soldiers: "Life is being lifted up to a new level. Cowardice and craven selfishness and petty indulgence are out of fashion. Helpfulness and cheerfulness and sympathy and brave self-denial have become the vogue. Large consideration of patriotism and of world interest have caught up countless lives that once seemed small, and ennobled them into newness. Both at home and among the troops, hearts have become tenderer and more comradely. Fellowship and brotherhood have been won to a degree surpassing the dreams of sociologists of a decade ago. We have seen the sanctifying power of a great experience, a great purpose, and a great hope. Human hearts have become plastic and so, consequently, has the world's existing order of things."

Our beloved and trusted President, a son of the manse and a ruling elder of the church, is himself learned in the Scriptures. His spirit and ideals are those of simple Christianity. He has dared to incorporate into his political thinking and his great state papers the teachings of the Prince of Peace. He has made the principles of justice, righteousness, service, and universal brotherhood forces to be reckoned with henceforth in the chancelleries of civilized nations. It is no wonder that this sometime teacher of history has become the chosen mouthpiece of humanity, the voice of world-democracy. His mind seems always to work in a light where there are no shadows.

> He saw the powers of darkness put to flight,
> He saw the morning break!

In brief, these four cardinal virtues seem to me to have shone forth most conspicuously under the acid test of war in our citizens, our soldiers, and our governments: Strength, "to strive, to seek, to find, and not to yield"; Honor, that shrinks from falsehood, meanness, and treachery like a stain; Friendship, for all oppressed peoples, and an inextinguishable love of race; and chief of all, Humanity, the spirit of the Red Cross, the heavenly touchstone of character.

"Freedom," England's Ideal Gift to the World

III. "Freedom." "Give us manners, virtue, freedom, power." The third master-word of Wordsworth's prayer is the gift of freedom. This is the distinctive and indispensable contribution of the Anglo-Norman to the world in its long and painful progress to civilization. The Hebrew gave his pure, monotheistic religion, for which he had a genius; the Greek, the serene and chiseled beauty of classic art; the Roman, the discipline and organized strength of law and order; the French, equality before the law and the idea of republican fraternity. The supreme and priceless bequest of the men of English speech has been their blood-bought ideal of human liberty. Freedom has been the rousing watch-word and invincible battle-cry of democracy in its millenium-long struggle for representative government and the rights of the common people. Ceaselessly for ages, on the forum and in the street, in Parliament and on the battlefield, have been heard those familiar rallying cries: freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom to worship God, freedom to own land, freedom to vote, freedom of the seas, give us liberty or death. At the core of great legal and political documents—Habeas Corpus, Magna Carta, the Statute of Appeals, the Solemn League and Covenant, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution, are such pronouncements as: "All men are created free and equal," "All men are endowed with certain inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," "All powers originate in the people," and "The origin and basis of government is the consent of the governed." For this ideal, which our forefathers wrote in their statute books with pens dipped in their hearts' blood, we of this generation are giving our lives and treasure. Liberty is the most potent word in the world today. It is a symbol of the solidarity of the English-speaking peoples. It is our superideal. It was of this word that William Watson sang:

The knights rode up with gifts for the king,
And one was a jeweled sword,
And one was a suit of golden mail,
And one was a golden Word.

He buckled the shining armor on,
And he girt the sword at his side;
But he flung at his feet the golden Word,
And trampled it with his pride.

The armor is pierced with many spears,
And the sword is breaking in twain;
But the Word hath risen in storm and fire
To vanquish and to reign.

The men of English stock have never bent their necks to the would-be war-lords of the world with their mailed fists and clanking swords. No Anglo-Saxon saw an armed Roman when he took possession of the island that was to be his new Angleland. His spirit of freedom rose superior to the conquerors of Hastings, and in three centuries gained the mastery. It refused ship-money to Charles I and tea-money to George III. It burned a consuming flame in the breasts of his statesmen and orators. It is incandescent in the speeches of Pitt and Adams, of Chatham and Henry. Burke, pleading for conciliation, gave utterance to it: "This fierce spirit of liberty is stronger in the English colonies probably than in any other people of the earth. The people of the colonies are descendants of Englishmen. . . . The colonists emigrated from you when this part of your character was most predominant; they took this bias and direction the moment they parted from your hands. They are, therefore, not only devoted to liberty, but to liberty according to English ideas, and our English principles." English poets made it the theme of their loftiest flights of song, and all hailed it with prophetic eye.

> **Shakspere was of us, Milton was for us,**
> **Burns, Shelley, were with us—they watch from their graves!**

"Give me a republic," wrote Byron, musing on the Napoleonic conquest of one hundred years ago. "The king-times are fast finishing; there will be blood shed like water and tears like mist, but the people will conquer to the end. I shall not live to see it, but I foresee it."

This World War, to win which the people of the two great nations have pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor, is a conflict of ideas, of two antagonistic theories of the state. It is a duel to the death between two irreconcilable systems of government—*democracy* and *autocracy*. One contends for the liberty of the individual to live his own life in his own way in neighborly fashion; the other demands his absolute subjection to the will, the whims, and the ambition of a military autocrat representing the state. One believes in government of the people, by the people, for the people, the other, in government by an irresponsible oligarchy. The former is modern, with upper and lower houses of real representatives; the latter is medieval, still holding to the obsolete doctrine of the divine right of kings. The former is republican in spirit; the latter is despotic in principle. Democracy insists upon the self-determination of free peoples; autocracy practices the forcible absorption of unwilling races. "The Past and the Present," says Mr. Wilson, "are in deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them." We and our allies are fighting for the independence of Belgium, Serbia, Roumania, Poland,

and other small nations; Germany plans for the obliteration of these little states within the swollen borders of her octopus empire. No sharper contrast could be presented than that between the Briton's "crowned Republic's crowning common sense" and the sentimental and arrogant militarism of the Prussian state. Eighty-five years ago Tennyson characterized in a single quatrain the conservative temper and political evolution of his country:

> A land of settled government,
> A land of just and old renown,
> Where freedom broadens down
> From precedent to precedent.

The German empire is the fifty-year-old spawn of three unjust, robber wars, and was begotten by the Hohenzollerns, the most ambitious and unscrupulous royal family in Europe. The imperial chancellors, childishly visionary, speak the fatuous language of an archaic diplomacy. They prate hysterically about the preservation of their precious and sacrosanct dynasty. Meanwhile, the Kaiser and his six stalwart sons in shining armor, are all far in the rear safe and unwounded. In Colonial administration Germany has failed, because she has exploited her unhappy colonies for her own mercenary interests under the iron rule of satraps. On the contrary, the British policy has bound together in a splendid, democratic fellowship the people of the homeland with those of Canada, New Zealand, Australia, South Africa and fourscore smaller colonies. Even far-away India has felt the tie and sent her millions to the help of her emperor. And now for eighteen months America has been fighting side by side with the Motherland to make the world safe for democracy. Under the broad wings of the old bald eagle, fit emblem of the new world freedom, 2,000,000 young Americans, his mighty brood, have crossed the great waters, and by their aquiline swiftness and fierce valor, their daring initiative, and deadly efficiency, are proving the decisive factor in the cause of the Allies. They are the brood of the American eagle, who has never known defeat. We, who cannot go, will do our part at home, and proudly claim their glory as our own. Our souls are marching with them. And when their legions return from overseas victorious, we shall meet them under the loved Stars and Stripes with voices of glad acclaim and deathless praise that no man can number. But alas! when the mother eagle flies homeward bound, her gray wings beating the star-strewn clouds, her breast crimson in the ocean dawn, she will leave many of her brave brood behind her in the poppied fields of Flanders and among the lilies of France.

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row,
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks still bravely singing fly,
Scarce heard amidst the guns below.

We are the dead.
Short days ago we lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.

Take up our quarrel with the foe,
To you from falling hands we throw the Torch,
Be yours to hold it high;
If ye break faith with us who die,
We shall not sleep, tho poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

Not only have American arms added many imperishable pages to the epic story of this greatest of all wars, but our statesmen and publicists have also written a new and original chapter in the history of human liberty. Especially have the addresses and diplomatic notes of President Wilson defined the new ideal of freedom with a judicial calmness, trenchant force, and felicity of diction that made him the final, authoritative spokesman of the Allies. His puissant pen has nowhere more clearly outlined the aims and issues of the struggle than in his Labor Day address: "At first it seemed hardly more than a war of defense against the military aggression of Germany. Belgium had been violated, France invaded, and Germany was afield again as in 1870, to work out her ambitions in Europe. Germany, it is now plain, was striking at what free men everywhere desire and must have—the right to determine their own fortunes, to insist upon justice, and to oblige governments to act for them and not for the private and selfish interests of a governing class. It is a war to make the nations and peoples of the world secure against every such power as the German autocracy represents. *It is a war of emancipation.* Not until it is won can men everywhere live free from constant fear or breathe freely while they go about their daily tasks and know that governments are their servants, not their masters. . . . To fail to win would be to imperil everything that the laborer has striven for and held dear since freedom first had its dawn and his struggle for justice began. The soldiers at the front know this. It steels their muscles to think of it. They are crusaders. They are fighting for no selfish advantage for their own nation. . . . They are giving their lives that homes everywhere as well as the homes they love in America may be kept sacred and safe, and men everywhere

be free as they insist upon being free. *They are fighting for the ideals of their own land,* great ideals, immortal ideals, ideals which shall light the way for all men to the places where justice is done and men live with lifted heads and emancipated spirits. That is the reason they fight with solemn joy and are invincible." This noble and notable utterance deserves to be known as the new American Liberty creed or Doctrine of Freedom for mankind.

"Power" the Glory of the English-speaking Peoples

IV. "Power." "Give us manners, virtue, freedom, power," sang the inspired poet-prophet of Grasmere. Power is the fourth and last of his great English ideals. Its place of honor at the climax of the tetralogy is unexpected, almost startling; but thoughtful analysis will justify its choice as wise and true. As in the matchless prayer of Christendom, it is the paronym of *glory,* which is not the place in the sun nor the shining armor of the Hohenzollern, but the Christian grace of attractive and militant goodness. It is the might of a great people exerted for beneficent ends. As the peculiar majesty of the state, it is the antithesis and foe of the Prussian idea of *Macht,* that fatal imperial power which the false prophets of Germany, Bismarck, Nietzsche, Treitschke, and Bernhardi taught their credulous people for half a century to worship as a mighty and irresistible war-god going forth like Thor to smash their enemies with his terrible hammer. The old peaceful and liberalizing Germany of Fichte, Schiller, and Goethe was crushed by the satanic ambition and lying diplomacy of Bismarck, the man of blood and iron. She was then insidiously corrupted by the teachings of Nietzsche and Treitschke, her two evil spirits, who carried the people up into a high mountain and showed them the kingdoms of the world and seduced them to spill their blood for the glory of universal dominion. Bernhardi, the chief apostle of militarism, taught them the need and commercial importance of war, argued that war is the chief business of the state, and assured them of certain and easy victory. "World power or downfall! will be our rallying cry." In the fulness of time arose a magnetic superman, Wilhelm II, who with the hypnotic power of Pied Piper led his deluded people over the precipice. In fifty years of unparalleled prosperity Germany had almost won the industrial and commercial hegemony of the world. Meanwhile her military caste prepared for war, and in 1914 when all was ready to the last button and shoelace, her innumerable hosts were hurled at the peace-loving peoples of Europe. In four bitter years she has lost all, and stands today hated and despised, a byword and a hissing among the family of nations. And all because

she sold her soul for power. A just nemesis has pursued and destroyed the nation that impiously reduced the Ten Commandments to one—Might is right.

When a college student in Berlin, I had an opportunity to hear Professor Treitschke lecture on his favorite theme of Prussian might and Pan-Germanism. I shall never forget with what spell-bound enthusiasm the hundreds of young men, who are the leaders of Germany at the present time, listened to his sonorous but almost inarticulate eloquence, punctuated at frequent intervals with his guttural iteration of that terrible word, *Macht, Macht, Macht!* From the windows I could see columns of Prussian Guards, and field artillery marching from the Unter den Linden in endless procession. And it all suggested to me some horrible Juggernaut rolling grimly on along a roadway paved with human bodies, and grinding under its red dripping wheels the opponents of its pagan Kultur. Napoleon said that Prussia was born of a cannon-ball. They have become a nation of sword-worshipers. Von Koester, grand admiral of the German fleet, in a recent speech eulogized the sword as a means of victory, declaring, "As nature needs storms, as God has given beasts teeth and claws, man also needs the sword." Might is not right; it is the law of the jungle. History repeats itself; the Kaiser will go the way of Attila, the self-appointed "Scourge of God."

Against this intolerable creed of militarism, this Prussian will to power, twenty-two nations of earth have allied themselves for a war of extermination. They have set their teeth to carry out this unalterable purpose. This will to conquer has been best expressed by Mr. Wilson in his historic Baltimore speech: "I accept the challenge. I know that you accept it. All the world shall know that you accept it. It shall appear in the utter sacrifice and self-forgetfulness with which we shall give all that we love and all that we have to redeem the world and make it fit for free men like ourselves to live in. This now is the meaning of all that we do. Let everything that we say, my fellow countrymen, everything that we henceforth plan and accomplish, ring true to this response till the majesty and might of our concerted power shall fill the thought and utterly defeat the force of those who flout and misprize what we honor and hold dear. Germany has once more said that force, and force alone, shall decide whether justice and peace shall reign in the affairs of men, whether right as America conceives it or dominion as she conceives it shall determine the destinies of mankind. There is, therefore, but one response possible from us: *force,* force to the utmost, force without stint or limit, the righteous and triumphant force which shall make right the law of the world, and cast every selfish dominion down in the dust."

This force our President is now launching against the German might with the resistless power of millions of the strong young manhood of America. Our great nation moves forward to its mighty task with the calm sense of justice, which is the avatar of mastery and power. Across our endless bridge of ships we shall continue to send an ever growing stream of men and guns, of food and munitions until this war is won. This planet is too small for militarism and democracy to live longer upon it together. "The blinded rulers of Prussia have raised forces they knew little of—forces, which once aroused can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph." The Fourth of July speech of Mr. Wilson from which this sentence is quoted has been called the New Declaration, for, as Sir Hall Caine says, "The Fourth of July is no longer ours alone, but will be hereafter the Independence Day of the world."

The war has clearly revealed the fundamental contrast between the German idea of brutal, autocratic might enforced by the sword, and the English-American conception of a righteous might sanctioned by law and order and exerted in behalf of liberty, justice and peace. It has shown that the patriotism of the Prussian, who everywhere tooted and sang his foolish "Deutchland, Deutchland, über alles, über alles in der Welt," and with foaming steins and mad "Hochs!" hailed "Der Tag," was a false patriotism, that did not speak the same language as the broader patriotism of humanity, the international creed of Christendom. The statecraft of the Teuton is neopagan, that of the Entente essentially Christian. The foreign policy of the former is to grab, to oppress, to destroy, that of the latter to serve, to benefit, to save. The goal of the former is a colossal robber empire preying upon a multitude of vassal states; that of the latter, in the words of Lord Bryce, "a world in which every people shall have within its own borders a free national government, resting on and conforming to the general will of its citizens." The German's conception of the state is based on feudalism and the rule of its robber barons; ours, a friendly sisterhood of equal nations large and small, each respecting the other's sovereign rights.

The boasted efficiency of the German political and military machine was hard, mechanical, soulless. Having overreached itself, it has broken down in collision with the higher efficiency of the free peoples, which is moral and spiritual as well as physical. Peaceful Britain has, with the aid of her overseas dominions, increased her "contemptible little army" of 1914 to 5,000,000 men, with a corresponding increase in her industrial system to equip these huge forces with arms, munitions, and other supplies. Glorious, heroic France, so long peerless in the

arts of peace and civilization, has forged a mighty enginery of war that has beaten the invading hordes along a battle-front of three hundred miles. Her fair provinces, upon which the Huns laid covetous eyes, have proved a bloody Naboth's vineyard to her spoilers.

Since April, 1917, our Republic has also been put to the supreme test of its efficiency. It was a question whether an industrial democracy could meet a militant autocracy in warfare on equal terms. In a notable address before this Association on November 9, 1915, President Alderman enumerated the five besetting weaknesses of our people, which I will briefly summarize: (1) a contempt of obedience as allied to servility; (2) a disregard of discipline as smacking of docility; (3) an impatience with trained technical skill as implying that one man is not as good as another; (4) an inability to coördinate education to daily life as a means of forwarding national ends and ideals; and (5) a crass individualism which shirked the solemn social obligation to coöperate for the common good.

Our democracy faced its trial with calm courage and resolution, and within eighteen months made good to the wonder and joy of our allies. Every one of the five supposed weaknesses was outgrown or trampled under foot in a twelvemonth. The contempt and indifference of the enemy has changed to fear and consternation. (1) Our people have vied with one another in patriotic observance of food and fuel regulations, they have cheerfully paid heavy war taxes, they have raised $18,000,000,000 in popular loans to the Government, and contributed over $25,000,000 to the Y. M. C. A., the Red Cross, and other war work organizations; (2) they have accepted universal military service, and 4,000,000 of citizen-soldiers have submitted to an intensive training and discipline with a docility and enthusiasm that outrivaled the Prussian; (3) millions of workers in shipyards, powder plants, and other factories, have ignored distinctions of birth, education, and rank to serve the nation in a spirit of democratic brotherhood; (4) they have appreciated the common laboring man as a moral and political asset, and have given him liberal wages and a rank in public esteem equal to that of the fighting man; (5) they have modified and coördinated public education in schools and colleges to advance the general cause by the application of trained intelligence; (6) they have surrendered their treasured individualism in favor of team work of the most strenuous, football type, and have surrendered to the Government many extraordinary functions such as regulating prices, commandeering private property, operating railroads, and telegraph lines, censoring mails, and controlling all public utilities. Our pleasure-loving, money-making democracy has fairly outclassed absolutism in self-discipline, organizing genius, and swift energy

of action. The ugly and unprepared-for fact of war, instead of weakening or destroying our body politic, has enormously strengthened and vitalized it. Republicanism has once more justified itself, by proving itself superior to an autocratic super-state, for whose glory the puppet citizen exists soul and body. America has found the golden mean: she has made the great compromise and adjustment between individual liberty and collective efficiency. May it be her task to lead her sister nations into a richer, fuller, world-wide democracy.

The world will never return to the political systems that existed before August 1, 1914. All that ushered in that day of wrath will be antediluvian history compared to the civilization which was prepared for by that empire-shaking cataclysm. Providence is pounding out the new twentieth century ideal of world-unity on the anvil of war. And when this bloody Armageddon has been fought and won, that happy union of peoples and states, which has been the goal of mankind for ages, will be realized. There has been born among men the new spirit of *internationalism,* the child of the fine old virtue of patriotism without its intolerance and selfishness, and the altruistic passion for humanity, which is the spirit of Christianity. The day of the spiritual union of free peoples has come. They are banded together for four great purposes: (1) the overthrow of irresponsible governments; (2) the settlement of all political questions with the consent of the people concerned; (3) the sacred observance of the law of nations; and (4) the formation of a league to enforce peace. The peoples of the allied countries confidently expect these objects to be attained at the peace conference which will be held at the close of the war. Then shall be fulfilled the ancient prophecy: "Men shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning-hooks, and nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." It will be worth all that the war has cost in lives and treasure if men in this generation shall be privileged to see an august Parliament of mankind sitting at Geneva with representatives from all the free United States of the World, its just and impartial decrees enforced by the power of economic boycott and a powerful international army and navy. This is the greatest ideal of the English-speaking peoples.